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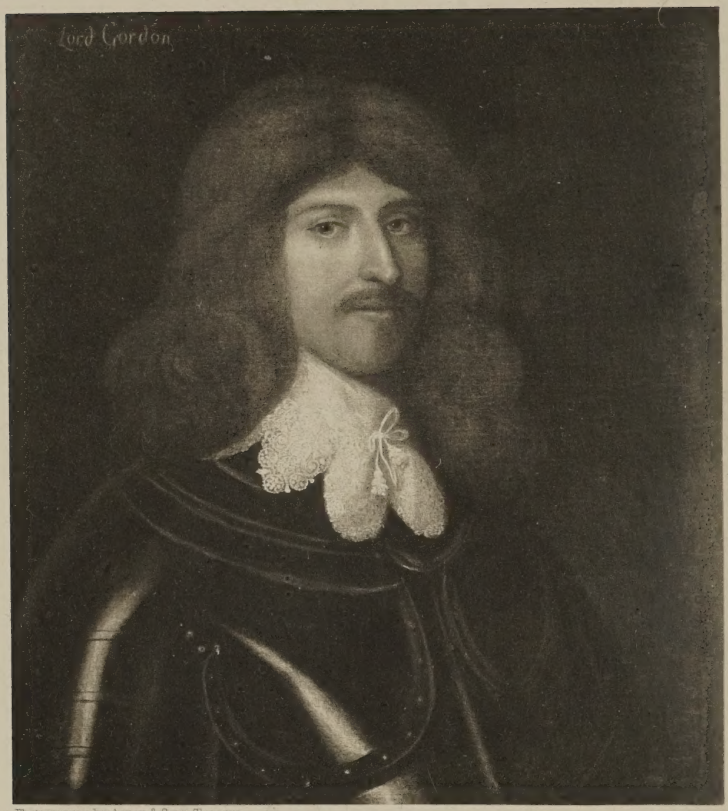
MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS



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John Gordon, Viscount Melgum.

WHO PERISHED IN FIRE OF FRENDRAUGHT, 1630.

FROM PICTURE BY JAMESONE IN GORDON CASTLE

MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS

DURING THE

XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES

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BY

WILLIAM FORBES LEITH, S.J.

VOLUME II

FROM COMMONWEALTH TO EMANCIPATION

1647-1793

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
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INTRODUCTION

The material for the second volume differs in one important particular from those of the first. The Jesuit letters and reports cease in the middle of the volume. For this no certain explanation can be given, but the probability is that it is due to the subsequent suppression of the Order. When this took place in 1773 the archives of the Society passed into the keeping of its unfriends. Though they would not have had any special grudge against the Scottish papers, as such, they were keen on exploiting all the then recent correspondence, which was then taken from its proper depository; and in the disorder, into which everything was thereby thrown, most of the lately received letters, in fact almost everything that was not yet bound up in volumes, was lost, and with the rest the Scotch reports from 1712 onwards.

Happily there exists at Blairs College a little known manuscript work, which takes up the history just where the break in the Jesuit records occurs. It is entitled, *Some account of the State of Religion and of the Mission in Scotland since the Reformation, compiled from letters and other original monuments*, by the Rev. John Thompson. Thompson was in 1767 Rector of the Seminary at Scalan, Procurator of the Mission at Edinburgh in 1779. As clergy agent at Rome, he

appears to have had at his command the papers of the Scots College.

Thompson's work extends from 1653 to 1760, and is followed by some "Notes and Minutes" for the Memoirs of the Missions, 1761 to 1787, from the pen of the Abbé Macpherson, who was agent for the Scottish clergy, and for many years transacted with the Holy See all the ecclesiastical business of the Mission.

Thompson informs us that before the year 1653 the memoirs he had gathered were very imperfect. From 1678 to 1760 his account "is founded on the Correspondence of Mr Burnett and Thomas Innes, who was very diligent in collecting all memoirs that could serve for the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, and of George Innes, his nephew, a man of great learning."

A few letters of Bishop Hay explain how the Catholic Relief Bill was laboriously prepared, rejected, and finally passed in 1793.

W. F. L.

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After the Picture by Jamesone in Gordon Castle. From "The Records of Aboyne," with the permission of the New Spalding Club.

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MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS

CHAPTER I

THE SUFFERINGS OF FATHER ANDREW LESLIE

Introductory Note

After the battle of Philiphaugh[1] the Royal Cause was wrecked in the North. King Charles, well-nigh driven to despair, had committed himself to the tender mercies of the Scots. His impatient subjects forced him at once to command "James Graham to lay down his arms." Charles wrote to his baffled champion, "You must disband and go into France." Montrose, therefore, bade adieu to his gallant army and sailed for Norway.

No means were left untried to induce King Charles not to force the Episcopal System on his Scottish subjects. Charles refused to yield, and the Covenanters delivered him up into the hands of the English Presbyterians.

While preliminaries of the tragedy of Whitehall were adjusted in Edinburgh[2] by Cromwell and other sectaries, the iron hand of the Covenanters made itself felt by both Protestants and Catholics in Scotland. Certain faithful adherents of Montrose were carefully selected from among the prisoners to serve as a public example. Lord Ogilvie, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbet, Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquharity, and others were tried and executed.

[1] 13-14th September 1645.

[2] "Lady Home's house in the Canongate became an object of mysterious curiosity, from the general report at the time that the design to execute the King was there first discussed and approved."—Napier, *Mem.*, 673; Murdoch, *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 223.

The Calvinists held assemblies in the diocese of Moray, principally with the design of contriving new schemes against the Catholics, and even formed plans for disposing of the King himself (p. 4). The main army of the Covenant marched into the North, and people, eagerly seeking to conciliate good-will from the invaders, used all diligence to betray the priests (p. 5).

In May 1647, Father Andrew Leslie's retreat was surrounded in the middle of the night (p. 7). There were armed horsemen in all directions and a large force of infantry. Father Grant escaped, but Father Leslie had no chance, and he joyfully surrendered (p. 9). He was conducted to the camp, and was called to account for saying Mass in the Royal army before going into battle, and for traversing the territories of the Marquis of Argyll, in company with the Irish regiments (p. 15). He was then conveyed with all speed to Aberdeen, where he was consigned to prison (p. 18). Shortly after he was brought before the court. Four preachers from Moray came forward as witnesses. After a long examination, his case was referred to the High Court of Justice at Edinburgh (p. 23).

Meanwhile, the plague broke out in Aberdeen, and Father Leslie could not be removed or admitted into any other town for fear of infection (p. 23). The envoy of the King of France came to visit him, and promised to act in conjunction with other influential friends, so as to prevent the enemies of the Faith from contriving his ruin or death (p. 25). Father Leslie, however, became very ill. In dread of the plague the greater number of the inhabitants left the town. Some rejoiced at the prospect of a priest being in imminent danger of death from pestilence and hunger (p. 29).

The soldiers who were employed to keep the healthy at a distance from the sick, or to guard the chambers of those infected to prevent their obtaining egress, were nearly all ill with the plague. A public fast and a sermon on the Lord's day had been appointed, and all the inhabitants were to attend under a penalty, but the plague increased (p. 31).

Some prisoners made their escape from the prison through a wide opening which they had made in the wall (p. 33). Many inquiries were made whether the priest had gone away with them. By order of the Privy Council, Father Leslie was removed to Edinburgh in the month of January 1648. The entire population of the town turned out to see him quit Aberdeen (p. 34).

The Sheriff was afraid the people of Dundee would mob the Father in the streets, but everything passed off quietly (p. 36). The

friendly feeling displayed towards him by the people of the country through which he passed on his way to Edinburgh was truly wonderful (pp. 37, 38). On reaching Edinburgh, Father Leslie was led directly to the prison. It was little better than his dungeon at Aberdeen. It was arranged with the French envoy in Scotland that he should bring Father Leslie's case to the notice of some of his friends among the nobility. His release was then requested as a favour to the most Christian King. Shortly after an order was issued that Father Leslie was to be surrendered to the French Ambassador (p. 43).

An Account of Prisons in which Fathers of the Society of Jesus are detained in Scotland; addressed to the Very Reverend Father General Vincent Caraffa *by* Father Andrew Leslie [1] (1647, 1648, 1649).

Very Reverend Father in Christ,

I have a double motive for writing the history of my imprisonment, and an account of the various prisons in which I have been incarcerated; first, to show the malevolence of my persecutors, and secondly, the kindness of my friends. The former

[1] Father Andrew Leslie, brother of John and William Leslie, S.J., and of Alexander Leslie of Conrak, entered the Society in the year 1627. He was a man of considerable talent and observation. After discharging missionary duties chiefly in the Highlands for about sixteen years, he was seized in May 1647, and committed to Aberdeen gaol.

From his prison Father Leslie wrote a brief letter to Father General Vincent Caraffa, on the 27th of March 1648. In his earnest desire to suffer for religion, he regrets that not death, but only long confinement and exile await him, for the object of his persecutors is to despatch him slowly by hunger and exhaustion. After more than a year's incarceration, Father Leslie was released and ordered to quit the realm. With broken health and in much bodily suffering he reached the Scots College at Douay. There is unfortunately no record to inform us when and where so meritorious a career was closed.

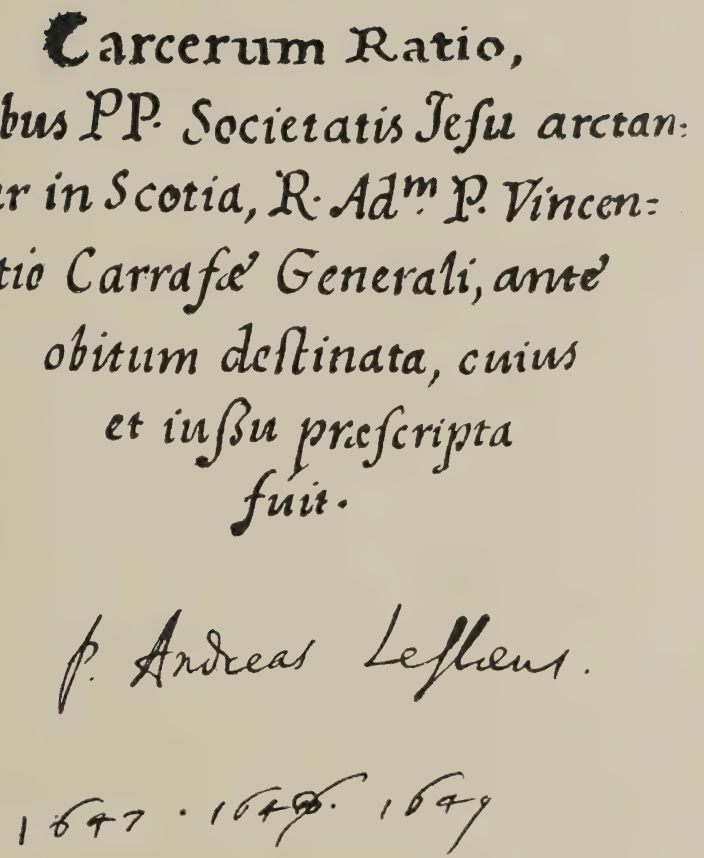
began to torment and ill-treat me with a cruelty for which I can discover no other reason than detestation of my faith. The latter took advantage of the same opportunity to aid me, and endeavour to the utmost of their power to effect my release. Both my troubles and my escape from them have tended to the greater honour of Catholic truth, and to the opprobrium of heresy.

For twenty-two years our persecutors in Scotland, though bitterly hostile, have been unable to imprison the priests of our Society; and the one whom they have at last succeeded in apprehending, and had destined to death, has been rescued by the intervention of our friends.

In the year 1647, I began to feel, in the north of Scotland, where I resided, that I was surrounded by untrustworthy persons, who were endeavouring to betray me to the Government, and it was not easy to escape the hands extended to arrest me. They did not want to kill me by violence; and a fruitless attempt to apprehend me would have resulted, not in tragedy, but in a new comedy.

The Calvinists hold assemblies for preaching in the diocese of Moray twice a year, principally with the design of contriving new schemes against the Catholics and their priests. They said it was intolerable that popery should still exist in Scotland, while their Covenant for the establishment of the Reformation was not only living and flourishing, but even triumphant. They had already formed their plans for disposing of the King himself.

One incautious royalist chief on the northern coast collected his forces before they could be of any service, and the Covenanters determined to crush him at


Carcerum Ratio,
Quibus PP. Societatis Jesu arctantur in Scotia, R. Adm. P. Vincentio Carrafæ Generali, antè obitum destinata, cuius et iussu præscripta fuit.

P. Andreas Lesleus.

1647 · 1648. 1649

FRONTISPIECE OF FATHER LESLIE'S MEMOIR.

once. Accordingly, the main body of the Covenanters' army, consisting chiefly of fanatical Calvinists, marched into the north, and all the towns, castles, garrisons, and houses of the nobility in the Lowlands and among the hills passed into their possession. People who were on the King's side, or who took part with whichever faction was supreme in their neighbourhood, eagerly sought to conciliate pardon or good-will from the invaders in the same manner, that is, by using all diligence to search out and betray the priests.

This was the prelude to the tragedy, whose successive scenes I am about to present to your Reverence; though the outcome in my case did not prove fatal.

First comes the plan of my apprehension, including the strenuous effort made by a certain Lieutenant-Governor of the garrison, who sent out the soldiers to take me. Next, the arrest itself, and the indictment. Then the scene will be shifted to Aberdeen, where I find myself placed in custody of a guard, and replying to the questions of the judge. There follows my imprisonment for nine months at Aberdeen, with alternations of suffering and consolation, both greater than any to which I had been accustomed, or are usual under such circumstances. Next, my transfer to the Tolbooth, the terrible prison at Edinburgh, where my Calvinist persecutors thought I was finally got rid of, but where I found myself freer than ever captive was before, and secured the good-will and regard of my fellow-prisoners, friends and foes alike. And, lastly, my release by the intercession of the French Ambassador, though only on condition of banishment.

I am, however, anticipating, and must go back to the beginning of my story. I have suffered great torture from stone for several years past, so that I

could get no rest day or night, and the malady threatened a fatal termination. The suffering in time abated, but my strength was nearly exhausted by its long continuance. I was unable to move about from place to place. I chose the most retired and secret hiding-place I could find, on the lands of a certain noble Earl, and lest I should come to any harm, the soldiers of the Covenanters were kept at a distance by the officer in command of them, who was a relative of my protector. Under these circumstances, I thought I was not incurring unnecessary danger, and had taken every possible precaution; but the times are such, that a priest is obliged to hate his own life to save it, and he has no choice but to make up his mind to face the lions in the arena.

This was the opinion of my best and oldest friends, who had passed long lives in Scotland, and witnessed many political convulsions, and who thought that the position in which we were placed at that moment was the most arduous they had ever known. What was almost more terrible still was, that the very men who were always warning me of the plots which were prepared to seize me, and held me bound by this peril, were themselves, as I had good reason to suspect, the authors of the enterprise. They certainly acted in such a way as to enable the men charged to apprehend me to find their way without difficulty to my hiding-place.

They laid their plans with considerable skill. The Lieutenant-Governor was absent from the garrison which was nearest to my retreat, but he issued a commission to a subaltern officer to take me. They obtained a guide in the castle of the noble Earl, now dead, who was once a friend to the Catholics, and near whose residence I lived, and were conducted by him to

my abode. They surrounded the house in the middle of the night. The weather was propitious to their attempt. There were armed horsemen in all directions, in the hills as well as in the plain below, and a large force of infantry. Traitors and searchers were everywhere, in no single direction was there a chance of escape. The soldiers were in haste because they expected to be able to take Father William Grant, of whom they had some trace; and they had been told he was with me.

The first scene of the dismal tragedy occurred at Inverness; but the mischief was, by God's goodness, averted. A Catholic resident at that place entertained at his house, as a guest, a man who was united by strong ties of friendship, both to himself and to me, and well known for his faith, and for many services he had rendered to us. We thought it probable he would be looked for, and he entertained some apprehension himself, for the day before, the Covenanters had actually endeavoured to kill him, and he had gone to the house of his Catholic friend, to save his life. I was extremely anxious about his safety. I told him to go up the chimney; and, leaving his money and his sword with me, he reached the gable by clinging to the tiles, and luckily succeeded in making his escape to the roof.

Presently a great noise was heard, and a soldier on horseback called out for a light, rousing all the household. I inquired whom he wanted. They answered "You"; for they heard my voice, and learned who I was from the searcher who conducted them, and who was acquainted with me. I opened the doors, and saluted the lieutenant and the soldiers. I first of all thanked them for coming upon me with armed forces, and in the darkness of the night, not altogether unlike

the way in which our most gentle Saviour was apprehended; at the same time I warned them that they would have to give an account of what they were doing, at the dreadful day of the Last Judgment, and observed that it was hardly necessary to send an armed force to take a man, who would go directly to the Governor's head-quarters whenever he was summoned, trusting in the uprightness of his cause.

All that followed went off pleasantly on all sides. The household of our Catholic host were not disturbed, and showed no signs of being afraid. The host himself, a man of courage, was not depressed, nor overwhelmed with grief. Seeing that I was innocent and had always been ready to give my life for the faith, he did not now grudge me that favour. His wife, firm and resolute as became the daughter of brave Catholic parents, accustomed by education and experience to combat for her faith, said: "I know the strength of your mind. You are wont to exhort us to be ready to die for our faith. Do not, therefore, shrink from danger, but act worthily of so noble a destiny."

By God's providence, the two young men were absent on this occasion. One of them was accustomed to be my companion, the other transacted business with the Catholics for me. The daughters were full of courage, and said to the soldiers, "You will gain no victory in this contest, if Christ comes to our aid; and it will hardly tend to your honour to have laid violent hands upon a sick man in the middle of the night."

I removed my breviary and other books from the sight of the soldiers. It fortunately fell out that they took no notice of the sacred objects lying before their eyes on the table, and did not search my baggage or the furniture, or take anything away, or look for the

money belonging to our host which was in my possession, or offer any kind of violence.

The officer was not a little astonished when I began to intone the *Te Deum laudamus*, and the others took up the alternate verses with exultant voices. He listened, and prepared to start on his journey, saying, "The papists are accustomed to chant their spells in this way, when they fall into difficulty or trouble," and asserting that he had never undertaken anything with a lighter heart.

There was nothing melancholy in our cortège, as we passed quickly along the rough mountain roads. They entertained full expectation of finding the Rev. Father William Grant, having found a guide to the place where he was concealed; but he had made his escape. They hunted for him in all directions, both in the province of Moray, and the neighbouring country on both banks of the river Spey, but did not find him. They did not admit me into the houses they searched, lest I should make their arrangements known. I told them they would never find him, as they saw to be the case, and that the honour of being their captive was reserved for me alone. The officer said, "I would not let him go, even though he were my near relative, as long as he is charged with being a priest."

This monstrous degree of cruelty seems to belong peculiarly to heresy, leading them not merely to hate what they deem iniquity in their relatives, but to proceed to violence against them, and not spare their own kindred, even in the best of causes.

At length we descended from the hills into the lower country. The officer, to shift the blame of this attempt from his own shoulders, began to talk to me in the absence of his soldiers, saying that my capture

had been my own doing, asking why we remained in a country in which the reformed religion was established, and if we did, why did we not choose some more secluded retreat. That, however, I told him, he knew was not in my power. I had not rashly exposed myself to danger, neither had I run away like a coward, but had taken a prudent middle course, thinking that I ought to conceal myself, but that if the persecutor came in search of me, I should not shrink from meeting him. But since it was impossible for me to remain long concealed in the midst of so many plots to take me, and so many hands ready to betray me, I was glad the conflict had come betimes rather than later on. He ought, however, to remember that nothing had ever prospered afterwards with men who had apprehended priests.

He seemed ashamed and sorry for what he had done, and endeavoured to extenuate his guilt, assuring me that my life was in no danger, and that I should only be sent into exile. It would be better still if I would change my mind, and join the reformed religion. I said it was foolish of him to talk in that way, and that the world and all its glory would not tempt me to do such a thing, nor the fear of any tortures induce me to abandon faith and piety. It would be wiser for him to forsake the subtleties of heresy, and join the Catholic Church, the religion of his forefathers and of his country. He was silent for a time, but soon began to urge in excuse what he had witnessed among the friars regular and the monks in Brazil, and had heard of while he served in the Dutch fleet; but he proceeded to say that he did not altogether condemn the Catholic religion.

We travelled at first by day as well as by night,

until the officer stopped to rest at the house of a lady, who was related to him. The troops wandered about the place, looking for lodging wherever they could, fresh parties of them perpetually meeting us as we entered the house, and conducting themselves, I must acknowledge, with great propriety and consideration. I informed the lady of the house that her relative was my prisoner, which, however, he denied, saying that I was the real prisoner. He had not, however, considered the truth of what I said, nor the meaning of my words. In presence of a woman who was opposed to the Catholic religion, I kept saying that, though a prisoner, I enjoyed perfect freedom, while my suffering was a source of happiness to me. Those were truly unhappy whose minds were immersed in the filth of heresy, who had no wish to extricate themselves, and made themselves prisoners in the bonds of impiety.

They asked me to say grace at table, and I terrified them by making the sign of the cross in their presence, and they requested me not to do it again. My captor was in a hurry to take me from this place to the Lieutenant-Governor's quarters. I set out in great spirits at the head of the troops, desiring them to watch me well, lest I should ride on in advance, and make my escape. The officer gave me a friendly warning that I should find the man, with whom I should in future have to deal, bitterly prejudiced, and a vehement opponent of the Catholic priesthood and doctrine. I replied that in that case I must meet him with all the greater determination.

The general commanding the camp, to which I was conducted, assumed airs of state, and was not to be seen except after he had kept me waiting a considerable time. The captain of the garrison, a subaltern, and

some other young men came out to me, and acted with some insolence; but the soldiers did not interfere with me, as I walked up and down the guard-room. The officers evidently did not want to prepare terrors for their dying hour, and when they began to talk to me, they said the office of the priesthood seemed to them only worthy of contempt. What! was it not idolatry in the papists to venerate images? Was not offering the sacrifice of the Mass a crime to be punished with axe and sword? I thought it necessary to go somewhat deeply into the philosophy of the matter, and explain to them the difference between an idol and an image. At first they scoffed and exclaimed at this, but I persevered and showed them at some length that the use of sacred images is serviceable and religious.

They went on to some other subjects of controversy, but however clearly I might explain any point, they resorted to subterfuges, and refused to concede anything. The captain inveighed against works of supererogation, and would not wait for any explanation of what he did not understand. A youth who was acquainted with me, and who had laughed louder at me than the others when I first began to speak, afterwards treated me with great politeness, and maintained jocularly that the captain ought to be made a minister, owing to the length and eloquence of his discourse against the papists and their priesthood.

The officers then left me, most of them not so much scoffers as good-tempered auditors of our controversy; and the Lieutenant-Governor entered with considerable pomp, and attended by a numerous staff. He was one who had been led astray by a perverted education rather than by natural or hereditary disposition. He

was a descendant of a noble family, and his elder brother had only lately fallen bravely in defence of his country and his king. He approached me in a courteous manner, and partly removed his cap, but immediately, as if he had suddenly boiled over, began to question me how I had had the audacity to preach idolatry for so many years, in opposition to the laws of the kingdom.

I replied that the Catholic Roman Faith had been brought into Scotland from the city of Rome one thousand four hundred and forty-four years ago, that it had been accepted and established by the laws of the realm, and the King, the chief nobles, and the whole people had embraced it, and it had undergone no alteration down to this day. He appeared struck with astonishment, and with kindling countenance replied, "We at this day perceive a clearer light than men of former times were able to see." He declared that he "hated the endless images, statues, and innumerable pictures of the papists," and added some stupid invectives against idolatry.

I endeavoured, upon this, with proportionate earnestness and firmness, to calm this wild delirium, and said I was astonished to hear such falsehoods from the mouth of one who was descended from such a lofty line, and who must have witnessed the veneration paid to the Divine Majesty in the churches by the congregations of Catholics, and at their altars, and heard the one true God addressed in their prayers; one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity. There was no divinity in an image. The image was not God, but the use of sacred representations was pious and profitable.

The angry man, at this point, began to calm the troubled waters of his zeal, and the bystanders were evidently pleased and interested with my exposition of

the real state of the case. However, he was not silenced, and called me a seducer, who led men astray from the illumination of the gospel by falsehood and sophistry. He was amazed when I declared that I sincerely and honestly proclaimed Christ as the Redeemer, and had not by any sophistry adulterated or corrupted the truth.

As if he meant to strike terror into me and crush me with the intelligence, he then informed me that I was to be sent to Aberdeen to the Convention of the Covenanters and Calvinist preachers, and there punished with great severity by my "brethren," by which name he meant to designate the ministers. It was hoped I should give way, and relax a little of the stiffness of my popish superstition. When I assured him that no torments or terrors would move me, or shake my constancy in a just and holy cause, he paused, as if inquiring with himself how this could be. Could it be an effect of merely human strength, or was it not the grace of God, and the power of Jesus Christ, enabling me to overcome what was most terrible to flesh and blood? At the same time he seemed to assure himself that I must certainly be converted by the ministers.

He then questioned me about the Rev. Father William Grant, and our conversation assumed a less pleasant tone. He told me he had been searching for him diligently for a year, and that I must know where he was, because he knew it was our custom to meet occasionally. I told him frankly that they would never find him, but I was distressed at the incident, for I saw that the man was my enemy, and knew that if urged on by hatred and malevolence, he would not hesitate to plan my destruction, and would, at the same time, renew his attempt to find and apprehend Father Grant.

He proceeded to press me with some degree of irritation on the subject of the Mass furniture, which he insisted must be given up by my friend and host, or else he would tear his skin from off his back. I said I earnestly hoped that sacred objects of this kind would never fall into sacrilegious hands, and assured him my friend would be found firm on this point. He replied that he had taken the greatest care of those which he had found in the palace of the illustrious Marquis of Huntly, which he occupied, and which the Covenanters had converted into a fortress. I have heard that at the time the soldiers and women put the vestments on for sport, in the sight of large numbers of people, and that the chalices were applied to profane uses.

Other questions I eluded without difficulty, but one topic was fraught with peril, viz., the large congregation which assembled round me at Easter. He said he could prove that Mass was said by me in the Royal army before going into battle, and that I had traversed the territories of the Marquis of Argyll, the leader of the Covenanters, in company with the Irish regiments. I replied, what was true, that I could not possibly have assembled a congregation at such a time, and that before an engagement, it was customary to review the ranks, and post the soldiers, but not to set up an altar and say Mass, and that the Irish soldiers had their own priests. The questions he asked me betrayed great animosity, but he admitted that no one had charged me with any wrong, but, on the contrary, that I had often received grateful thanks from persons whom I had saved from injury at the hands of the soldiers.

He also questioned me more than once as to whether I had held any communication on business with a prisoner, who was at that time in his custody; and

whether I was included in a sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Calvinist ministers. He put both these questions with a great deal of craft and malice, for they do not hesitate to put any one to death who has been stricken by the maledictions of the Calvinists, as being guilty of contempt of the reformed religion, and an obstinate criminal. I assured him I knew nothing about the proceedings of these trumpeters of heresy, and had never been present at any of their conventicles, and neither knew, nor cared to know, whether I was excommunicated or not. And with regard to the other question, I had never engaged in any transactions with a view to buying or selling.

Several answers which I made to him of the same kind were far from tending to appease his wrath, and having threatened me, he ordered me under arrest, commanding that an armed sentinel should be placed at my door, and two others in my room, armed with pistols and swords. Thus ended this scene, and he never could bring himself to see me again.

Ever since the 13th of May I was either being conducted by the soldiers over the mountains and the plains, or harassed by accusations and controversy. Now some young men very politely brought me some food, which I could eat, though it was Friday, and talked with me very agreeably, saying they thought that prisoners should be kindly treated, and the sergeant and two corporals of the company gave me a few hours' repose, since I was to be conveyed to the assembly at Aberdeen the first thing in the morning. A rather cryptic order was brought me about giving up any money I had in my possession, as well as my sword, pistols, books, rosary, and breviary. They took away the cloak which I had worn day and night to protect

me from the weather; for the disturbed state of the country, and the loss of my wardrobe, most of the articles of which I had given away to my friends, had reduced me to something like destitution. Then they took all the money I had, saying they would take care of it between them, lest it should get stolen on the way. I had nothing else with me, as was evident to them, and I had purposely avoided carrying anything else about with me. The corporal refused to exchange his helmet for a country cap, as he wished to conduct me with all due honour.

We travelled with all speed to the judges' place of meeting at Aberdeen, with a letter concerning me addressed to the officer in command of the troops at that place. The writer of it, a bitter enemy of the priesthood and of religion, anticipated a capital sentence in my case, and said that I must be burning to die a martyr, since I would not yield. The corporal seemed disposed to treat me kindly. He wrapped his short military cloak round me, saying that I was weak and ill, and that it would keep me warm, though in truth it would hardly have protected a child of tender years.

I was then conducted from the Moray country fifty miles to Aberdeen, meeting many troops of soldiers from the regiments of the Covenanters, who were quartered in the taverns along the road. There was being held at Aberdeen, which is the northern capital of Scotland, an assembly of the Covenanters, of two different orders, preachers chosen from the General Assembly, and Judges from the Supreme Court, vested with political powers; and there was a capital deputation, as they call it, with power to pronounce sentence in capital cases.

The soldiers had, up to this time, not shown any

insolence towards me, but they now seemed desirous to add what was wanting to the measures which had been taken with regard to me by the Lieutenant-Governor in the camp, pending others of still greater severity. They laughed at me openly, and assailed me with reproachful language. "Here is a priest made prisoner, and led captive by a band of armed soldiers." Close by the horsemen were some Irish skirmishers, who had not seen me before, but they were not among my enemies.

It would be useless to give further details of this scene. They seemed to regard the name of priest as the bitterest of all terms of reproach. I would have kept silence, if I had not thought that silence in a prisoner might be considered an indication that I was abashed; but under the circumstances, thinking I ought to assert my freedom and courage, I looked my adversary boldly in the face, which was more than he ventured to do to me, except when there was a multitude assembled together, as if I considered the priesthood a dignity fraught with power and full of honour. He cast down his eyes, and became grave and silent. His comrades said: "He has struck you dumb. You cannot bear the gaze of the man, who you said was a prisoner, without confidence in the cause for which he suffered."

The aspect of affairs was altogether different when I arrived at Aberdeen. The civilian officials to whose charge I was committed for consignment to prison, inquired whether there was to be any end to this bringing in of prisoners by the soldiers, and said they had no room for any more. I said they had now got the very worst of them, and there would be no more to come. The officer replied that he hoped that would be the case, and that I was just what I had described.

When I was on my way to the prison, a young man, with whom I was acquainted, saw me, and told his friends, and Father John Smith, who supplied me with everything I wanted, for I was entirely destitute. The French Ambassador came into the town on the same day, and his exertions on my behalf had the effect, in God's providence, of removing some of the prejudices of the Calvinists against me.

The third day brought me forth upon the stage; the trial, to all appearance, being likely to result in a tragic conclusion. The judge conducted the proceedings with great moderation of language, but with an evident desire of doing me all the harm he could, and with a gravity derived from his age and experience in legal business. He was evidently prepared to pronounce any sentence which might please the Covenanters and the Calvinist ministers. Four preachers from the Moray country, where I had been apprehended, came forward as witnesses. They had been placed on the court, in addition to the assembly of the diocese, the Provost of the city, and one of the magistrates. The judge courteously told me to sit by him, and asked me some commonplace questions of politeness; and the Provost of the city asserted that the name I gave was not an invention, though he could not easily believe I had given the true one. The judge was himself not satisfied on this point when I said I had studied literature at Braunsberg in Prussia, but said he would accept my statement if I averred that I had resided at Douay. He listened more favourably to the names of the cities in Italy which I had visited, but I thought it better to say nothing about Rome, as he did not refer to it. He seemed to consider it a more serious matter when he mentioned, what he had already heard, that I belonged

to our Society and was a priest, and that I had travelled for so many years in different parts of Scotland. He had no doubt that I must have led some persons astray by sophistry. I declared, as I had done at my first encounter, and in my conversation with the authorities by whom I was arrested, that I had never had any intention to deceive, and that my sole object had always been the salvation of souls, to preach the faith of Jesus Christ, and work for the redemption of men. If he could read the secrets of my heart as easily as he could hear my voice, he would have a very different impression regarding me. I would willingly permit him, if he would appeal to the Searcher of hearts, to examine the inmost recesses of my soul.

The judge and the preachers now began to inveigh against the use of sacred images, in terms very similar to those which had been employed by the Calvinists in our former conversation. I therefore thought it necessary to reply to this calumny in a more full and formal manner, with careful choice of language, and my voice raised, and at length I reduced them to silence. I then told them that they had no just right to inquire particularly what society I frequented, or in whose houses I lodged, since they themselves had occasioned by indictment and accusation the death or banishment of so many Catholics, and the plundering of their property in their absence, as well as that of many others who were deprived of the power of legal resistance. The Provost here interrupted me, saying, "That is as it should be; it is not God's will that Catholics should enjoy life and prosperity." I replied that they were happier in adversity. The preachers asked me very few questions, and entered into no controversy, and the judge himself interrupted one of

them (who was beginning to harangue me about the Rich Man in the gospel, and warn me to beware of falling into the same penalty as my brethren of the Society, who had been priests, and had departed from this mortal life), saying that it was useless to engage me in discussion, because I could escape by means of theological distinctions from any argument that could be advanced against me.

They meant more serious mischief in the next question they put to me, which had reference to a noble lady, who, a few years before, had been married to a man who was not a Catholic. Had they been made aware that the husband had given the priests permission to enter his house, to encourage his wife in her religion, this would have exposed him to prosecution for high treason. I told them, however, what was really the case, that I had not seen her since she was a child; that she had been brought up as a Catholic by her mother, a woman of very high character and position, and that after her mother's death, priests were refused access to her, a fact perfectly well known to all Scotland. By stating this, which was true, I saved him from danger, and the lady from odium and suspicion; and they did not try again to entrap me in the same manner. They brought forward some other charges, but in a hurried and confused way. One of these referred to the books of the Sacred Scripture, but the judge did not approve of this subject being raised. They gave me no time to consider what was said to me, refused information regarding the points they required to be explained, and were eager only to ask questions without caring to have them answered. They took exception to some decisions of the Sacred Council of Trent, and to

some statements in the writings of the most eminent Bellarmine on the subject of the merit of good works, and they listened with great impatience to my explanations on these points.

It seemed to me a sinister indication of the issue of my trial, that the judge wrote down what I had told him about myself, matters notorious, which I had myself acknowledged. Then having signed this himself, he asked me to do the same, which I readily did. I said that what they considered perilous to the last degree, the profession and active support of the Catholic religion, the office of the priesthood, and the Institute of the Society of Jesus, constituted my greatest happiness and joy, and death in this cause would be the greatest gain of all. They advised me, in a ridiculous manner, to read the Calvinist Bible in the vulgar tongue, as if I could derive religious belief from the study of it; saying that they would not refuse to accept the Scriptures from the hands of Jews. I replied that such language was foolish and irrational; and that the sacred volumes could safely be read and understood as they were delivered to us by the Apostles and the Catholic Roman Church. And lest they should seem to have effected nothing whatever, they proceeded to inveigh bitterly against the celibacy of the priesthood, with all sorts of monstrous fabrications and filthy language, as if they delighted in obscenity. I thought it best to treat all these silly inventions with absolute contempt.

Soon they began to act the part of chorus. The judge stated the case, promising that I should be treated with every possible consideration, and the preachers, and the judge himself, undertook scoffingly to restore my breviary to me. They made an agree-

ment in jest, both parties binding themselves to the restitution of the objects which the soldiers had taken away from me, but pretending they could neither of them remember the names of the sergeant and the corporals. I settled this question by observing that they had no right to require the soldiers to restore what they already had possession of, since they had only done what they knew the court would entirely approve, and that they ought not to be deprived of their spoil. It was very likely that pay was not given to them regularly, and I would willingly agree to their keeping what they had got, and hoped they would accept it as a gift, not acquired by violence. The magistrate who was present, and whom I did not know, seemed anxious to hear everything, but not to wish to speak, and silently observed all the proceedings. The whole course of the business of the day gave him no little satisfaction and enjoyment. He privately repeated to my friends in the town, of whom, indeed, he was himself one, all that I had said, declaring that I had spoken cautiously, prudently, and to the purpose, and particularly that I had not said a word which could do harm to any one else; and he whispered to me, when he was going away, that my life was in no danger.

Within a few days, the decision of the case regarding me was referred to the High Court of Justice at Edinburgh. The Calvinist preachers were very anxious to hurry on this appeal, and were eager to prosecute it; but the plague broke out in Aberdeen, and I was kept in a double imprisonment, for I could not be removed or admitted into any other town for fear of contagion.

My imprisonment was dangerous and inconvenient in more ways than one. The prison was not very

secure against escape, and yet very unhealthy for those confined within it. The building had a vaulted roof divided into four compartments, with a separate chimney to each. I was placed in a semi-circular recess, which they called the Iron Chamber, because prisoners loaded with iron chains were usually confined there. The pavement was so uneven, some of the stones protruding, and others having been removed, that it was not easy to stand, much less to walk. Upon these I had to arrange my couch, but was liable to be driven from it by the rain, which came down the chimney in wet weather, and if a fire was lighted, the least wind prevented the smoke from ascending. There were no shutters to the windows, which remained open for the entrance of the rain and snow. Every possible uncleanness scattered all over the place, offended sight and smell. The prison was occupied by soldiers, some prisoners taken from those who served in the Royal army in different parts of the country, and some men levied to be sent abroad for service in foreign lands, and detained while waiting for a favourable wind. This made the place dirty in the extreme, and the air was further poisoned by the confluence of all the filth of the town. Add to this, that the winter sun sent not a ray of warmth into the gloomy retreat which was assigned for my habitation.

Here the French King's Envoy in Scotland came to visit me, but they did not wish him to see the squalor in which I was compelled to live, and conducted him into the hall. After a brief conversation in Italian, he went down on his knees, and asked my blessing. This action was observed by many, and suggested the propriety of treating a priest with greater respect. It was a comfort to the Catholics, and induced the heretics to show me

more politeness than before. He promised to act in conjunction with the more influential of my friends, so as not to allow the enemies of the Faith to contrive my ruin or death. His design was, however, for the present frustrated by the plague, and its success deferred to more favourable times.

When the soldiers were withdrawn from the prison, I had only three fellow-prisoners left. The hangman then cleaned out the prison, and the smell was worse than ever, so that the health of all of us was seriously affected, and I especially was very ill indeed, which I had not expected. It was not like a fever, but my limbs could never get warm by any contrivance, and my legs and arms, frozen to the very marrow, shook with cold. For five days my stomach refused every kind of nourishment and drink, and could retain nothing.

Some of the more rigid Calvinist preachers, with one of the magistrates, put a guard at the door of the prison, to prevent persons who wished to see me from gaining access. A man of some note came and stayed with me for some days, during which time a good many people visited me, ostensibly to accompany his wife, and to pay their respects to him. A young man who was condemned to death for homicide, obtained privilege of entrance for some others, but after three days he was put to death, and then no one was allowed inside. I began then to prepare myself for my last hour. My malady had exhausted all my strength. Twice I lost consciousness, and the two comrades who remained with me had great difficulty in restoring me to life. There was only one thing I regretted, which was, that I was not permitted to give any testimony to our most holy faith by shedding my blood on the scaffold, in the sight of all the kingdom. It was, however, God's

pleasure to preserve my life. One of my friends obtained admittance to me, having secured the connivance of the guard either by earnest entreaties or on the strength of old acquaintance, and gave me something to drink, which threw me into a profuse perspiration. In a moment, as they watched me, my voice and colour returned. At the same time, on a report that the contagion was spreading in the town, the greater number of the inhabitants left it, so that at the same moment in which death threatened a large number of people, I was rescued from its jaws.

As the pestilence made its way, and spread from one to another, day by day, I had opportunities of observing many striking evidences of courage and self-devotion, as well as many heartrending scenes. Although I was no longer in immediate danger of death, I was very weak, and obliged to lie on my bed for fifteen days, and for eight days more I could neither walk nor stand without being supported by two men. There ensued a dimness of sight which prevented my reading for several days. My Catholic friends kindly supplied me with a copy of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, and I then began to make out the letters, and soon could read my breviary. I had plenty of leisure for prayer.

The plague had pervaded every part of the town before it was noticed. There happened to arrive by sea one who had been accustomed to cleanse infected houses at Edinburgh and in other places, and he detected the presence of the infection by various indications with which he was familiar; on which he was appointed to have charge of the burial of the dead.

It was made known by suitable agents that I was prepared to give assistance to the sick, but this effort of charity occasioned great annoyance to the Calvinist

preachers, and they prevented the intelligence from becoming generally known. I therefore directed my exertions to the nearest quarter. I had in prison with me two companions in misfortune. One of these was a debtor, who was unable to pay his debts, and was actually dying of hunger, and could not have lived much longer. The other was a soldier, who was innocent of any crime, and had been thrown into prison on a false charge arising from envy, and was left there absolutely destitute of food. The former of these I kept alive for nine months by sharing my food with him. The other I supported as long as he remained in prison, and I so successfully urged his liberation in my letters, that he was released from danger of contagion, and arrived safely in his native county, which was in the extreme north of Scotland. The last one was not adverse to the Catholic Faith; the other had an action pending before the courts, but often protested with tears that he would become a Catholic. It was more difficult to relieve him from fear of famine than from famine itself. "Come," the gaoler used to say, "prepare for your last end. I bring you this pitcher full of cool drink; drink cheerfully while you can, for before long you will get nothing more either to eat or to drink. All the houses which have wells, or springs, are infected; and I can get no more pure water."

The wretched man shrank with terror, and could not decide what he was to do. I then told him to cast off all anxiety, and that all we wanted would be supplied to us abundantly. And God did not disappoint my expectation, for some of the citizens of Aberdeen, who were not great admirers of the Catholic religion, nevertheless sent me frequent supplies for friendship's sake; and Father John Smith, not without some trouble to

himself, provided me with funds. As soon as a good understanding had been established with the gaoler, I could easily get what I wanted from my friends, and he not unfrequently brought me food from his own house, in a handsome basket and covered dishes, under the eyes of the preachers, who were not well pleased at his doing so.

He sometimes gave me trouble, nevertheless. He would occasionally close the iron gates, and say, smiling, as if to see what I should answer, "All these locks and bars make you melancholy; you cannot get out." I said that by such, Heaven was not closed, but opened. Sometimes he brought me a made-up message that I was to be hanged immediately. I said nothing could be more welcome; to die for my faith was to live again. But he continued to insist that he could not understand how I could be glad to die, though I suffered agonies from the stone, and was painfully ill in other respects, and my strength was visibly failing. I explained to him that nature works in one man, and grace in another, and adduced the examples of the martyrs, with which he was greatly pleased.

At length my friends warned me (recalling to my memory by so doing the probability of a tragic conclusion to my adventures) that a more serious danger threatened me; for the tribunals were greedy of blood, and the circumstance of my having accompanied the Catholic soldiers in the King's army (a few of whom remained in Scotland, and were put to death) would be attributed to me as a very grave offence, and my persecutor was in hopes either of keeping me for a very long time in prison, or of shaking my constancy by the fear of a public execution. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure than this intelligence. The

justice of the glorious cause I was defending was sufficient consolation for me, and God's grace not only enabled me to bear my sufferings, but turned sorrow into joy.

The atrocity of this threat led some of my friends to think any measures to meet it justifiable, and they bargained with the gaoler, who was now my friend, to allow me to escape. The parties to the agreement were not to use their information to the detriment of one another, and either of them could go abroad, if it were not safe to remain in his own country. But I absolutely refused to avail myself of any such methods of persuasion, lest I should bring reproach upon our holy religion. My firmness in this respect was highly approved by all Catholics, and had an excellent and permanent effect as an example; so that they resolved to suffer the greatest extremities, rather than say a word which could compromise the integrity of their faith. And they declared that they were more strongly moved to persevere by this my resolution, than by the instructions, sermons, and admonitions they received from me when I was free.

I was informed that the Calvinist preachers and other more rigorous members of their sect, rejoiced openly at the prospect of a priest, though not condemned to death by sentence of a judge, being in imminent danger of death from pestilence and hunger. This was indeed actually the case with me. I could obtain provisions as long as the gaoler's house was free from infection, but once he came into the prison in the early part of the night, and remained there, and informed me in the morning, that it was certain that the plague had found its way into his house. There was a double danger, for he would not be allowed to go to his house,

because persons in health were not permitted to approach the sick; and he felt as if he were going out of his mind and was himself affected by the disease. He applied to the Provost and other magistrates, but they said they could not tell how the prisoners were to be guarded. The previous warders who used to visit the prisons, and who had conversed with me, had suddenly died. The soldiers who, with arms in their hands, were employed occasionally to keep the healthy at a distance from the sick, or to guard the chambers of those infected to prevent their obtaining egress, were nearly all ill with the plague. Many of these also had been with me in prison. I earnestly commended all to the mercy of God, who, though He may sometimes punish the innocent, is not wont to punish twice, or by a double scourge.

Three members of the gaoler's family were carried off by the plague; he himself was not infected by it. I could see that the sight of my cheerful and courageous look brought joy into their pale and terror-stricken faces. The fresh occurrences of every day continued to strengthen my confidence in God. A tailor who repaired my worn and damaged clothes, died in a few days. A man who used to bring me food from a Catholic friend, was forbidden to re-enter the town. The bakers in the town died; the taverns which supplied drink became infected. Thereupon the gaoler, without making any difficulty, said I might go out to seek for provisions among my friends; but the bridge which I should have had to cross was guarded by soldiers, and he would not allow me to go into the open country.

The common danger seemed to make every one feel his own danger all the more. The measures they took

to avert the peril made it worse. At first, they appointed a public fast and sermon on the Lord's day, at which all the inhabitants were to assemble under a penalty, and it was observed that the evil increased in consequence. Upon this, they transferred the ceremony to the burial-ground, and there an immense multitude collected; then, on the Lady's Hill outside the city, where they met, infected and uninfected together; and finally in an open field near the sea. The preachers addressed the people from the shore, and the sick, being brought out of the cells in which they were shut up, stood in close juxtaposition with those who were yet in health. They were all mingled without arrangement, and without separation between the two sets, and the plague by degrees attacked them all. No one seemed to know what to avoid, or what to do. I always maintained, nevertheless, that the plague would not penetrate into the prison, so that many people determined to come there, and take up their abode with me. I preferred dying at Aberdeen rather than anywhere else. I was well known there; it was there, and in the neighbourhood, that for many years past I had made known the light of Catholic truth by my preaching, and I had hopes of encouraging many to persevere in the Faith, and of converting others to it.

The entrance of the hangman into the prison for the purpose of clearing it, reminded me of this wish. He approached me with marks of respect, removed his cap, and addressing me, said, "Sir, you linger too long in this prison. When are you going to leave such a filthy den?"

My companions in captivity, who had overheard him, inquired what the hangman had said to me. His words sounded ambiguous, and they thought that possibly he

was to have a reward when I was executed, and was anxious to have no further delay in receiving it. In truth, this wretched man's words were capable of conveying a lesson not to be mistaken, which was that even the humblest ministers of justice, and punishers of the guilty, were incapable of wishing evil to a priest who observed the obligations of religion, piety, and innocence.

Those days did not pass without trial and suffering. The stone which had accumulated during my illness gave me much pain. I got rid of twelve large ones, and eighteen smaller ones; and the rain and wind, especially when the frosts set in at the end of autumn, and the beginning of the winter, blowing in through the open windows, deprived me entirely of the sight of my left eye. But when the inflammation began to subside, a gardener, who was in prison with me, restored my sight in a few nights with celandine, putting some of the juice into my eye as I lay.

A tragedy of another kind happened next. The officer who took charge of the burial of the dead, and the cleansing of the town, was accused, on the appointment of his successor, with having fraudulently neglected the proper purification of the houses and furniture, and having knowingly left the infection lingering in several places. Not succeeding in finding any one who would give bail for his appearance, he was thrown into my dungeon. The magistrates of the town took away everything he possessed, and threatened to hang him. Then there joined us a soldier, who had served in the King's army, and was accused of plunder. Both these endeavoured to escape from what they considered to be an unjust sentence of death, and they would have found no great difficulty in doing so, for the prison was so

constructed as to give them easy and rapid facilities of exit.

The unhappy men lamented to me the prospect of a terrible death which awaited them if they remained, and implored my aid on the ground of their innocence of any guilt. It had gone so far as this, that if they desisted from their attempt to escape, having already begun to prepare for it, it would certainly be discovered, and the discovery would involve them in instant death. Under these circumstances, I gave my approval, and they both made their escape.

Next morning a wide opening which they had made in the wall was plainly visible, and there was general rejoicing in the town at the escape of the prisoners, for the city of Aberdeen compassionates misfortune. Many inquiries were made whether the priest had gone away with them. The gaoler informed the magistrates that there was no chance of my doing anything of the sort, even if the doors were left open. The debtor was in the same difficult position as myself, and when asked if he had assisted the fugitives in their escape, said he thought it a sufficient defence that he had himself remained. The preachers and some of the newly-chosen magistrates had the prison repaired, lest the priest should change his mind, and take his departure, and would allow no one to enter within the gates. Three gaolers were appointed, and the locks were continually altered.

A clever youth managed to arrange with the Catholics in the town, that I should be enabled to leave the prison, and hold an interview with Father John Smith at his house, during the night. The Calvinists were getting tired of my continued residence in a town where everybody was on my side, and they obtained an

authorisation from the Privy Council, to whom the decision in my case had been referred, directing the provincial authorities to remove me to Edinburgh in the month of January 1648, on the feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul.

Never was there so much excitement witnessed at Aberdeen. The entire population of the town turned out to see me quit my dungeon, and the preachers and magistrates consequently prohibited my leaving on that day. My departure was put off from day to day, and the people kept continually in suspense. Market-place, streets, lanes, were crowded every day with multitudes eager to see my exit.

This postponement of my removal gave me an opportunity of once more meeting Father Smith, together with some of the principal men of the city. One of these, the first lawyer in the place, came to consult me about the Catholic Faith.

By this time, the fear of infection had very much subsided, and free access being allowed to all parts of the country, there was no further difficulty in the way of my travelling to Edinburgh.

My enemies expected me to present a sufficiently miserable appearance after so long an incarceration in such a wretched hole, and triumphed in what they supposed would be the filthy and neglected aspect of the prisoner. But God infused courage into my heart, and dignity and grace into my bearing and carriage, and the joy which my countenance expressed occasioned astonishment to my enemies, and congratulation to my friends and supporters.

A considerable amount of ceremony is employed by the provincial magistrates in this country in receiving or surrendering prisoners, and they are careful in

observing it, for fear they should be accused of negligence in the event of an escape. The magistrates are present in person, preceded by their armed apparitors, with proctors and witnesses by their side, and the notaries demand a written receipt for the prisoner, for drawing up which they receive payment.

With this ceremony, I was delivered over at Aberdeen by the administration of the district of Moray to the neighbouring district of Mearns. My friends warned me not to look for any demonstration of kindness here, and that I was likely to be treated with insult. But in place of the contumely and reproach I was prepared to expect, it pleased God to surround me with every mark of attention and respect. The under-sheriff of Mearns omitted no mark of kindness, and himself accompanied me a great part of the way.

I was a strange spectacle to the people of this portion of the coast, where there is now not a single Catholic resident. A priest was regarded as a being of different species from other mortal men, and young and old crowded out of the town of Drumlithie to look at me, so that I was conducted on my way by a procession of young girls and boys. I saluted them all, and at first they were taken by surprise, and hesitated, but after a time they returned my greeting, wishing me a pleasant journey, and good luck, and continued to reiterate their kindly good wishes; while the people glanced at one another, as if remarking among themselves that I was not very dreadful to look at, that my words were friendly, and my manners civil, and that I exhibited some marks of vigour in my form and bearing.

Thence we proceeded to Angus, where there are

many Catholics, and the people are accustomed to the sight of them. The under-sheriff, a man of more than usual information and politeness, and the judge of the town, where there is a court of session, rivalled one another, contrary to my expectation, in showing me attention, and entertained me handsomely at the inn, instead of sending me to the prison.

I was here transferred to the custody of the soldiers, and the under-sheriff himself accompanied me out of the district, explaining to me, being learned in the law, the whole course of the proceedings which would be taken in my case. He was afraid lest the people of Dundee, a place on the coast, should mob me in the streets, as I was led a prisoner through the town.

In fact, my friends at Aberdeen had forewarned me of a Calvinist plot to rouse the inhabitants of this place, and stone me in the streets, so that I marshalled all my courage to encounter the insults I was to expect. The under-sheriff, on hearing this, took every precaution for my safety and his own. He sent on a single messenger with orders to speak to one particular magistrate alone, and at dinner-time, when there was no crowd.

This expedient proved completely successful. We found the magistrate seated in his country-house, and my friend delivered to him the letter from the Privy Council, presented me to the proctors, witnesses, and the notary, mounted his horse, and rode off. He had already left the town before his attendants had arrived at the gates. They proceeded to the market-place, and the apparitors were summoned, but did not very speedily appear. I was left alone in the counting-house. Their anger was all expended on the absent under-sheriff. They asked me whether I was the prisoner whom that rude individual had delivered into their hands, and took

me quietly to the prison. The magistrate, having read the letter from the Council, said that the crime against religion with which I was charged was not capital, so that there was no necessity to make my imprisonment close or severe. I remained three days in this town, because they do not consider it right to cross the straits on Sunday. They supplied me with provisions at the public expense, the care of procuring them being entrusted to a widow who had no prejudice against the Catholic faith. On the third day, the magistrate accompanied me to the vessel in which I was to embark, assuring me that he would do all he could for me, for the sake of my name and family.

Many people predicted that I should be torn into pieces in the province of Fife, to which I now proceeded. It turned out, however, quite differently. The assistant judge threw me into the worst dungeon in the prison, to the great disgust of the gaoler, but I was soon removed to a rather better lodging.

The report of a priest being taken prisoner drew forth a visit from the tutor of the young Earl, who is the hereditary chief of the county, but is many years under age. He came to dispute with me on religion, the more readily as my name was familiarly known in this part of the kingdom. He came with considerable pomp, accompanied by the listeners to our controversy, and by two young men of good family, his pupils. Entering the prison, he began the conversation by asking me about the various places abroad where I had studied. He had lived in France, and was surprised when he heard that I was not educated in that country. He observed that possibly I had not understood the reason and radical causes of the Scottish reformation. He disputed with me for two hours or

more on the mystery of the holy Eucharist, and endeavoured to confute by philosophical arguments the theory of the possibility of the co-existence of two bodies in the same place, but found it easier to show how the language of scripture may be distorted from its true meaning in discussions of this kind. Though perfectly polite and kind in every other respect, he could not hold me free from the charge of leading the people astray, and when I said that I had spread Catholic dogmas in Scotland for so many years, with a genuine zeal for the salvation of souls, and had preached the true doctrine of the Church, he listened to the statement with a laugh.

I was attended through the province by the servants of the illustrious Earl who owns all the land, and the assistant judge accompanied me through the town as far as the gates, without any unfavourable demonstration. He prayed for my safety in soul and body, and desired earnestly the welfare of both. Yet it was not long since some prisoners belonging to the King's army, in their passage through this town, had been with difficulty protected by the soldiers from the violence of the populace.

I was conveyed from the port of Burntisland across the Firth of Forth to Leith, and thence to Edinburgh. I passed one night at Burntisland, in a private house in the town. The colonel in command of the troops, accidentally hearing of my arrival, declared in presence of the preachers at the inn, that I was his friend, though he did not approve my religion, and afterwards came to visit me in my place of imprisonment. He said that if one whom he so highly regarded and respected did not receive liberal and handsome treatment, the people of the town should suffer for it.

Next day, I was visited by some seafaring men, who greeted me with great marks of kindness and attention. The principal magistrate of the place proposed many questions to me about religion, but very briefly. He appeared to want to know whether I would embrace the reformation as received in Scotland. When I declared that that was the worst thing I could possibly do, he troubled me no further, and handed me over to a guard, of whose behaviour I had no cause to complain, politely making all arrangements for my being conveyed comfortably to Leith, and made over to the magistrates at that place. Some people were prepared to insult and hoot me as I was being led to the boat, but my guards promptly dispersed them.

The friendly feeling displayed towards me by the people of the country through which I passed was truly wonderful, and looked as if there had been a complete change in their sentiments and in their attitude towards heresy. I had been told I should encounter insult, ignominy, probably actual violence; and I expected that my victory would consist in enduring them. In reality I was shown favour and kindness, hearty good wishes and respect.

The last incident of my journey was a demand from the sailors for their boat-hire, with regard to which I referred them to my companions. They murmured greatly, for they foresaw they would have their trouble for nothing, and said they never got paid for the conveyance of prisoners.

The Leith magistrates received me courteously, and I here encountered the man who had been employed at Aberdeen to cleanse the town during the pestilence. While there, he would not accept my salutation, as being a priest, and therefore excluded from human association;

but here he was quite polite, and walked with me half a mile, asking many questions about the progress of the work he had inaugurated at Aberdeen.

The people of Edinburgh, the capital city of the kingdom, were accustomed to receive prisoners rather harshly, but the chastisement of the plague seemed to have softened them considerably. One of the magistrates, on seeing me, said to the men who were conducting me, "If it is a priest you bring us, he will be able to say Mass for us." He led me directly to the prison, the apparitors preceding us.

Here the play proceeded as before; the scenery was exactly the same, only the actors were changed. My experiences, day and night, were the same; the circumstances only being slightly altered.

The prison was very little better than that at Aberdeen, not quite so full of smoke and soot, but as regards the character of the inmates, very much worse. They were of every rank and character, the untried and the condemned being all huddled together. In another and higher part of the building, the noise and confusion were very great. Some of them seemed mad or furious, and here the greatest criminals were confined, many were absolutely destitute, and many had been shut up there for a long term of years. If at Aberdeen, any outbreak of violence was likely to occur, I was generally able to prohibit or prevent it; here I could only endure it. The mice were troublesome at Aberdeen, and this was especially the case while the plague was spreading in the town.[1] At Edinburgh the savage temper of my companions in imprisonment was much worse than the mice. The opportunities I found for

[1] In view of the modern theory that vermin carry infection, this observation may not be without its value.

the exercise of virtue were limited to three kinds. One was to increase my love of God; the second was my own instruction; the third, instructing my fellow-prisoners or my visitors. Prayers were said in the prison by order of the head-keeper, consisting of a short psalm and five chapters of the Bible, but none of the preachers ever came.

I took advantage of the prayer-time to read my breviary, which was impossible at other times, owing to the number of people who were always walking over me or lying down upon me, like sheep, in a fold, or fishes caught in a net. There was no limit to blasphemous language and profane swearing. No one seemed able in this respect to exercise any restraint over himself, to such a degree had their minds been weakened by prolonged suffering; and what seemed worse than all, they were perpetually condoling with one another on the wrongs they suffered from the hand of God. This merciful God, however, conferred this favour upon me, that no one, however violently they quarrelled with one another, either new comers or older inhabitants, ever assailed me, even by a word; and this also, that no one who wished to speak to me for their own consolation, or to bring me assistance, was ever prevented from approaching me. The French Envoy came to the prison to see me, and his chaplain more frequently; both for the purpose of confession. Father James Macbreck, though he was well known in Edinburgh, came to pay his respects to me, and remained a long time in conversation with me, the gaolers treating him with marked respect; a remarkable fact, till then unknown in Scotland. These visits made it absolutely necessary for them to allow my visitors free access to the prison, and that I should be permitted to confer with Catholics, who

wished to see me, in the outer hall. A more serious difficulty was that I could procure no food without paying for it beforehand, or immediately afterwards; but this also was provided for by the intervention of Father Macbreck and my Catholic friends, who sent or brought me supplies; so that not unfrequently I was enabled to render assistance to my needy fellow-prisoners.

The efforts of my friends, Catholics or otherwise, were principally directed to effecting my release from the goal. My persecutors would not at all have regretted my death from long incarceration and the filth and squalor of my prison, and they would never have been blamed for this, so long as they kept me safe under lock and key while I lived. The decision regarding me was referred absolutely to Parliament and the Privy Council. In the existing state of the kingdom, this body never met, but only a sort of commission selected from all the various orders, viz., the burgesses, barons, chiefs, and nobles, which determined all questions as they arose; and they either did not care, or had not leisure to consider my case. The Fathers of our Society arranged with the French Envoy in Scotland, that he should bring the question regarding me to the notice of some of my friends among the nobility, and propose my release. There was no difficulty in doing so, and no danger of his meeting with a repulse. But he kept putting it off; not thinking it practicable or convenient to negotiate with heretics regarding the liberation of a priest. The Parliament had, moreover, been summoned to consider the question of assembling the army, and he did not think they would attend to any other business until the despatch of the forces to England gave them breathing-time. My Catholic friends thereupon urged me to write

a letter to the French Envoy, which they promised to place in his Excellency's hands. The Envoy, on receiving it, thought the best thing to do would be for him to call upon the chief secretary of the kingdom with a petition from me.

This was carried into execution at once, and the Envoy proceeded, without waiting for his dinner, to the secretary, to whom he represented that he had one favour, and one only, to ask from the ally of his sovereign, which was that they should make him a present of a malefactor whom they held in imprisonment and thought very little of, but whose release was earnestly and generally desired in France. This he requested as a favour to the Most Christian King.

There was no difficulty made about granting the request, and an order was at once issued that I should be delivered up to the French Ambassador, a step which was received with rejoicing and congratulation by a large number of persons.

Your paternity is now in possession of my story, which has proved much more prolix than I anticipated when I began the relation of it. The tragic termination I once expected has been changed into a conclusion which my Catholic friends will consider much happier.

It is impossible not to wonder at the change which has taken place in the disposition of the Calvinists, which must have been greatly softened and tranquillised before they could allow a priest either to die a natural death or go into exile, though under penalty of death in case of his return to his native country. Twenty-two years had passed, as I stated before, since any member of our Society was imprisoned in Scotland with any intention of putting him to death. God had closed the jaws of the wolves, or repressed their fury,

and prevented their devouring or slaying the few lambs who wandered in the country during all those years.

There are three causes which I can recall or conjecture as accounting for this. The blood of our zealous and illustrious martyr[1] may have quenched the cruel thirst of the persecutors. The nobles of the kingdom, who have always exercised the principal influence with the people, with the hereditary and innate clemency which distinguishes them as a body, disapproved of public executions and the murder of priests, and openly expressed their abhorrence of those atrocities. Or heresy in conflict with heresy, as it has been during these years, may not have dared to allow the savage ferocity of a former time to break forth again against religion and its preachers and heralds, lest it should itself suffer in turn.

Though I cannot doubt that it is my own unworthiness which has deprived me of the happiness of giving my life for our most holy faith, I shall hope soon to acquire fresh strength and vigour, and a more ardent zeal, at the feet of your Reverence, since you have now deigned to summon me to Rome. If the condition of affairs admits, I hope I may one day return to the conflict, more eager and resolved than ever, less bound by earthly considerations, less cold and feeble than before. I intend to set out about Easter time.

ANDREW LESLIE.

DOUAY, 8*th March* 1649.

1650. *In another hand.* This Father, who is now Rector of the Scottish College at Rome, often related what is here written, and wrote what he himself underwent.

He returned to Scotland in 1652.

[1] The Venerable Father John Ogilvie.

CHAPTER II

THE HUMILIATION OF THE LAND

Introductory Note

The King was a prisoner, his army was dispersed, and the Royalists were reduced to great straits. Montrose was now the only man with the ability and resolution for an attempt in Scotland. He was still abroad. Prince Rupert wrote to him letters full of esteem and confidence, and with an urgent invitation to go thither. Montrose had been badly treated. His advice had been neglected, his assistance never called for except to lead a forlorn hope. Yet such, they felt confident, was his generosity, his loyalty and affection to his dearest lord and master, that in spite of all he would still be ready to face any peril in the King's service.[1]

Montrose was on the point of leaving Brussels, or was already on his way to Scotland when horror seized him at the first rumour that the good King had been murdered. Charles, on his father's death, sent for Montrose and gave him a commission as Commander-in-chief of all forces by land and sea.

Montrose first landed at Orkney, and from thence passed over to the mainland, accompanied by a few Royalists. On the 27th of April 1650 he was surprised at Invercharron.[2] After a desperate fight for life, covered with wounds he made his escape, but after three days of starvation he fell into the hands of Neil Macleod, a friend of other years, who betrayed him. On the 21st of May 1650, Montrose ascended the scaffold. "God almighty have mercy on this perishing nation," were his last words.

The troubles of Catholics daily grew worse (p. 47). The war, however, was confined to the south of Scotland. Sword and pestilence laid waste everything. Father Gall, in a letter dated July 1649, gave a sad account of the state of the country and interesting facts

[1] *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 239.

[2] On the confines of Ross.

regarding the death of the Marquis of Huntly. In another letter, dated the 8th of July, he describes the execution of Montrose (p. 51). The Calvinist conspirators seriously planned the removal of the King from their midst and the complete suppression of the Catholic religion within the kingdom (p. 53). They bound themselves by oath to carry out both these designs, and the King himself to please the people issued decrees against Catholics (p. 53).

A large number of persons convinced of the wickedness of the Calvinist heresy, took refuge in the bosom of the Catholic Church (p. 54).

Having cut off the head of the man whom they had proclaimed Ruler of the State, ecclesiastical and civil, the rebels found themselves reduced to take an oath of allegiance to a number of men of any rank or grade who happened to be in power (p. 54). To preserve the faith from being absolutely crushed the Catholic clergy had to live in the midst of soldiers and the clash of arms, completely destitute and unable to obtain support from the faithful Catholics, now deprived of their earthly possessions (p. 55).

The soldiers pointed their swords and pistols at the breasts of the Catholics to compel them to betray the whereabouts of the priests, or to renounce their faith (p. 56); still a considerable number of the nobility of the country and men of rank abjured heresy (p. 56), and Catholics regarded their lives and the loss of their goods as nothing in comparison with the good of their souls. Whilst engaged in encouraging the Catholics with his fervent exhortations, Father Macbreck was betrayed by a soldier and detained in prison for nearly a year.

In the year 1656 many Catholics in Scotland were cited to appear before the judges; all, without exception, obeyed the cruel summons, and having fearlessly made profession of their faith were hurried off to prison. Towards the end of June Father Dempster was arrested at Edinburgh and thrown into prison. Meanwhile, Father Macbreck was told that he would be set free on condition that he should expatriate himself for life, and that he should find bail and security to the amount of two thousand pounds. This fine he refused to pay, and the judges contented themselves with a promise that he would leave the three dominions within one month and never return, under forfeit of his life if he did (p. 60).

The annual letters of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for the year 1657 brought further news of the noble attitude of all Scottish Catholics (p. 68). The Countess of Nithsdale was summoned

with other Catholics to appear before the court, and the articles of faith having been read over, the judges asked her whether she repudiated them. She replied, "You must first cut off the hand from my arm, and my head from my neck, before you tear from my breast my belief in these articles of religion" (p. 69).

The constancy of the Catholics thus exhibited, produced this effect, that wayerers were strengthened in their resolution. A young countryman of about twenty years of age gave a truly memorable instance of courage and constancy in the profession of our faith (p. 70). In the case of some cruel magistrates the sacred oracle proved true: "The hard heart shall have evil in the end" (p. 71). The same year saw remarkable instances of the dreadful punishment of sacrilege (p. 74), of the monstrous and pestilential inventions which deceive the minds of men under the guise of human reason, (p. 75), and of admirable courage and constancy in the Catholic Faith (p. 78).

Father James Macbreck *to* Father General[1] (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

26th September 1648.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,

Pax Christi.

At the date of my last letter, which was the 1st of August, I was in expectation of better times, but my subsequent experience does not lead me to look for any end to the troubles of our Fathers; troubles which daily grow worse in this afflicted kingdom, by the just judgment of God, which is evidently the cause and origin of the misfortunes under which these islands are now groaning. I myself was in the utmost perplexity at the beginning of last month, between Scylla and Charybdis;—I mean between two armies on opposite sides, and now there is a third coming from England, summoned by our excellent ministers, and others who are the chief promoters of the civil war. By God's

[1] Vincent Caraffa.

providence Mr Rob went to the west eight days before there was any talk of these armies, to the house of the same lady who entertained him when he was in Scotland last; and directly afterwards Mr Seton set off to the north, in company with some friend of his own, to visit our Fathers there. Both, I hope, with our other Fathers, are out of the way of all danger, the war being confined to the southern portion of the kingdom. I hope one day our nation will open its eyes, and see where it is being led by this iniquitous Covenant, which they entered into nine or ten years back; and judge of the tree by its fruits, namely the sword and pestilence, which have laid waste everything during these past years; and famine, which during this year and the next will, beyond all doubt, consume what is left, and will now every day increase, as the soldiers plunder whatever they find. All these are the effects of the Covenant, and may God grant that the people, thus led astray, may some day or other recover their senses, and return from their evil ways, and be converted to the Lord their God with all their hearts.

Your Reverence will readily conclude from the condition of this distracted country, what must be the hardships to which we are reduced, and how difficult it is to make that progress, and gather in such fruit as you would wish, and we ourselves most ardently desire. But as I hope, the hand of the Lord is not shortened, and He will in His own time with the trial give an issue, especially through your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers, to which I earnestly commend myself and the condition of our afflicted islands.

Your most unworthy servant and son in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

From SCOTLAND, 26*th September* 1648.

Letter of Father Robert Gall *to* Father Andrew Leslie (*Buckie* MSS. *now at Blairs College, near Aberdeen*).

N.D. *July* 1649.

Reverend and Dear Father,

I wrot to your Reverence the 19th of the last congratulating to your saffe arryval thether and informing you of such newes as occurred there. Since that tyme I learned from Scotland that all is now peaceable in the North, the Gordons and Ogilvies being scattered and fled to the hills and highlands, the Lord Rae[1] and his are detayned prisoners at Edenburg. The Parliament is sitting w^ch^ consisteth only of 6 or 7 Earles and Lords of Argyle his faction, of w^ch^ the Lord Sands is one, that good luose or ganer goslin. But albeit the cursed land of covenant be ryde for a tym of the sword, yet is it not ryde of a scourge, for famine is so great by scarsetie of cornes and victualls, that sundries dye suddenlie thereby, and witches and sorcerers are so frequent and numberous, that albeit thay putt dailie some of them to death, yet can they not finish, the number still encreasing, one delating or accusing another. The Marquis of Huntley dyed as he lived more atheist than Christianlike.[2] F^r^ M'Breck went into Edinb. and remayned there 5 dayes space offering dayly to hazard to go to him, and sending word w^t^ the Lady Seton and Arthur Duncan; but he still did putt off, and when it came to the last day he pretended danger. Then the father send him word he would place himself neere to the

[1] Reay Sallagh tells us that Reay in 1645 held a commission from Montrose.

[2] George Gordon, second Marquis of Huntly, was beheaded at the cross of Edinburgh, 22nd March 1649.

scaffold or place of execution, and be ready to give him the benefit of the Church and sacramentall absolution, if he would but wittness publicly his contrition of his sines and make the sign of the holy crosse, professing himself to depart in the communion of the Catholicke church; but his replie was he had no sure intention nor mynde, and thus *qualis vita finis ita:* I send you heere a copy of his last speeche. Our King (who is now at Brussels going from France) hath promised fayre to the Scots, especially to give all satisfaction to the Kirke, but for al this they seeme to distrust him, and he them. He will have much adoe to get up, for England is now peaceable w^t^ in itself, and Cromwell w^t^ . . . ar going w^th^ a strong armie to subdue Ireland where there is nothing but misintelligence and disunion. . . . I continue to be ever and inviolablie R^d^ and Dearest father,

Your Reverence his humbly affectionat servant,

ROBERT GALL.

Addressed: R^do^ Patri in X^to^ Patri Andreæ Leslæo Soc.^tis^ Jesu in Collegio Scotorum, Romam.

Letter of FATHER ROBERT GALL *to* FATHER ——
(*Buckie* MSS.).

PARIS, *8th July* 1650.

REVEREND AND DEAR FATHER,

Pax Christi.

As for newes from Scotland they are daily worse and worse and so baade that I have no heart nor hand to wreat them. I doubt not but you have heard of the defeat[1] given to Montrose by Strachan in Rosse where shortlie after his landing some

[1] Dun of Creich, 7th May 1650.

300 horse of the Covenanters under the conduct of this Straachen—who heretofore was but a driver of kale from Musselburgh into Edinburgh—did sett upon 1200 or 1400 of Montrose's and kild some 300 or thereabout, and toke the rest prisoners. Montrose himself being wounded in 3 parts escaped them, but 3 dayes after was taken disguised in boores apparell, broght with 500 horse to Edinburgh, tyed with chaynes to a cart bare-headed and the hangeman sitting on horse and covered who conducted him, was thus conducted through the imprecations of the rascall people in the thieves holle as they calle it, and 2 or 3 dayes after hanged at the crosse of Edenburgh upon a gibbet 30 feet highe, after his head cut off and sett upon the tollboath of the city. Of his armes one was sent to Aberdeene to be exposed there, another to St Johnston [Perth], and one of his legges to Striveling, the other to Glasgow; to be dishonoured there where he gayned honour and reputation by his former victories. Efter him was beheaded also Harvie, one Charterous, Darrey; grandchyld to the late pretended Bishop of St Andrewes, Colnel Sibbet[1] and your Ghostlie chyld Dalgathie.[2] The Scaffold and gibbet 30 feet high with the Maidne as they call it stands yet at the crosse of Edinburgh and is called the altar of Argyle and his ministers. The King did embark for Scotland the 17 or 18 of June, yet no newes of his arryvall to Scotland. Duke Hamilton and the

[1] Colonel William Sibbald, an old soldier of Montrose.

[2] Sir William Hay of Dalgetty had been with Montrose through most of his campaigns, and stood in a special relation to his chief. He shared his views and his confidence more fully than any of them. He was captured about the same time, and executed on the same scaffold a day or two after. His only request on the scaffold was that he might be buried in the same grave with him. In 1888, a mural tablet was erected to his memory in St Giles's, Edinburgh. The arms of Sir William Hay and his wife, Dorothy Bruce of Pittarthy, surmount the tablet.

Earle of Latherdale ar gone both allonge w^t^ him, albeit both of them be declared banished and consequently incapable to return home with the King, as also some 12 or 13 more, of which the Earle of Seaforth is one, and Calender also, and generals King and Ruthven. Our queene liveth still in the monastery of Theresian Nunnes heere in want, having congediated the greater part of her [servants]. The duke of Yorke is still at Jersey ilande. We expect heere dayly . . . with a daughter of my Lord Marquis of Douglas who will inform us of all more particularly in the conflict and defaite of Montrose. Young Pitfodels[1] was killed who carried the King's colours. Crichton Frendret's sone was hurt, who dyed of his wounes at the milles of Drumme; shortlie after being taken prisoner and removed that farre for Edenburgh. Mr Balantin got accesse to Dalgathie and heard his confession before his execution. Mr Wm. Lumsden[2] is taken by Cant[3] and kept prisoner in Aberdeene. Gossip Rob. Irwine and his wyffe w^t^ one or 2 more, apprehended also on Palm Sunday, are sent to be emprisoned in Edinburgh, where they are ill used. Mr Ballantin who had say'd masse to them escapt very narrowlie. . . . I remayne ever and inviolablie my R^d^ Father,

Your Reverence his humbly affectionat in Christ Jesus,

ROB. GALL.

[1] Gilbert Menzies was son of Sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels, Baron of Pitfodels, who was received into the Catholic Church by Father Rob in March 1644. He joined Montrose with his clan, and bore the Royal standard at the battle of Carbisdale. A large stone still marks the place where he fell dead with the standard in his grasp.—*The Book of Menzies*, p. 291.

[2] Father William Lumsden sent reports of his missionary labours to St Vincent of Paul in the years 1654 and 1657.

[3] Andrew Cant first went preaching to General Leslie's Camp at New Castell; then became Minister of Aberdeen in August 1640, where he was the cause of many troubles.—Murdoch, *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 167.

Annual Letters of the Mission of the Society of Jesus in Scotland, from the Year 1649 to the Years 1656-7.—*Stonyhurst* MSS.

1649.—This has been the most memorable year in all the history of our British land. The audacity and the rage of the Calvinist conspirators against their King, whom they erroneously imagined to favour the Catholic cause, proceeded so far that they seriously planned the removal of the King from their midst, the complete suppression of the Catholic religion within the kingdom, and the banishment of all its adherents. At the instigation of their ministers, and by their example, for the ministers were the first to begin, they bound themselves by a wicked engagement, confirmed by an unhallowed oath, to carry out both these designs, as soon as they could be accomplished. The King himself uselessly entered into the same engagement, took the oath, and to please the people, issued certain cruel decrees directed against the Catholics; nevertheless he was brought to public trial in his own palace, and his head publicly struck off by the hand of the executioner.

But the suppression and banishment of the faith of Rome, which they assailed with all their united strength, has so far, by the action of divine Providence, proved beyond their power. On the contrary, the hand of God has turned the very means they took for the subversion of the orthodox faith, into an engine for its defence and propagation, for what has happened has been that a very large number of persons, convinced of the baseness and wickedness of the Calvinist heresy, and perceiving that it not only permitted, but encour-

aged and precipitated this wicked and insolent insurrection against the King's majesty, have abjured every form of heresy, and come for refuge into the bosom of the holy Roman Church. For these haughty men plainly made their heresy a spring and source of universal disorder, and beginning by shaking off the yoke of God, have gone on to reject all authority and command of earthly princes as well. This was the experience of Charles, King of Great Britain, who permitted the growth of heresy, and cherished the deadly serpent in his bosom, and found he had been teaching his own subjects to rise against their lawful King with arms in their hands, till it ended in open war and more than one pitched battle. At last the King was made prisoner by stratagem, and thrown into prison. Then they cut off the head of the man whom, shortly before, they had proclaimed Supreme Ruler of the State, ecclesiastical and civil, and found themselves reduced to take an oath of allegiance to a number of men of any rank or grade who happened to be in power. Thus heresy seems to claim the right of giving power to kings, or taking it away at its own judgment or caprice, but very inconsistently it has put to death many Catholic priests because they have refused to make oath that they recognised the King as Supreme Head of the Church. Of the number of these is the illustrious martyr of our Society John Ogilvie, who was sentenced to death for refusing to swear that the King was the Head of the Church in Scotland. But before he suffered death, this holy martyr foretold that a time would come when the most just King of kings would deprive this prince and his posterity of all royal authority, because, unlike his forefathers and predecessors, and at the instigation of the preachers of

a false religion, he had arrogated to himself the power of ruling the Church. The violent death of King Charles at the hands of his rebellious subjects, and the solemnly proclaimed exile and proscription of his family, have now proved John Ogilvie to be a true prophet.

The vineyard thus laid waste by the disturbances of the times, and the withdrawal of most of the other priests and religious, has been sedulously cultivated by some of our own number, who have kept the torch of the faith so far, from extinction, and if they have no record of extensive conversion to show, at least they have undergone and suffered much in preserving it from being absolutely crushed and brought to nothing. They have had to live in the midst of soldiers and the clash of arms, completely destitute and unable to obtain support from the charity of Catholics, because these are deprived of all their earthly possessions, and it is easy to imagine what privations they have endured. Hiding in rocks and caves by day and travelling by night, and stealing secretly into Catholic houses to console the inmates with the sacraments of the Church. Not unfrequently while they were engaged in celebrating the sacred mysteries the soldiers would break in upon them, and there was no time to escape, except into vaults and hiding-places, and sometimes they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners to the soldiers. Then would the sacred furniture of the altar be seized by the rude hands of the soldiery, and put to profane use, and the soldiers, dressing themselves up in the sacerdotal vestments, would parade the streets of the town, publicly deriding our sacred mysteries, and next, pressing their swords or pistols to the breasts of the Catholics, they would compel

them to betray the whereabouts of the priest, or to renounce their faith or attend the temples of the heretics and take part in their worship. If they refused, all their household goods were plundered, and themselves thrown into prison.

To these terrible misfortunes was added this one, that our priests have had little or no means of communication with their own Superior, or any of their brethren, so that they were destitute of aid both in mind and body, and suffered no slight inconvenience from this cause all the time that the land was resounding with the clash of arms, and the monarchy tottering to its fall. This has extended over twelve years, during all which time the incessant battling of armed men and the storm of persecution against themselves, has made their lives so miserable that at times they could with difficulty endure the strain. Yet, strange to say, and notwithstanding all the troubles of the times, a considerable number of the nobility and men of rank of the country, abjured the Calvinist heresy and embraced the Catholic faith, and of these, three or four had previously been heretic preachers and ministers, and some of them sons of their bishops and ministers. Some were professors at the universities, who were accustomed to teach the Calvinist philosophy and theology to the young students in college, and with them were many of what are called the elders, who give judgment in ecclesiastical causes in conjunction with the ministers, and preside over the administration of justice. This adds fuel to the great wrath of the ministers, furious at seeing so valuable a prey carried off from their midst and, as it were, torn from their bosoms.

From the exhortations of our Fathers, there has resulted not only the acceptance by many of the

Catholic faith, but a great increase of piety and probity among these converts. It was a joyful sight to see men of rank and their ladies, some of them women with child, travelling immense distances to keep their Easter as prescribed by the Church, that their courage might be confirmed and strengthened by the Sacraments of Confession and Holy Communion. The houses of the Catholic nobility, in which our Fathers are accustomed to find a refuge, resemble religious houses at these seasons. Not merely with cheerfulness, but with ardent zeal, all attend the pious offices of religion, all assembling early in the morning to say their prayers to God, then strengthening their minds with mental prayer, they hear Mass with religious devotion, engage in the reading of some spiritual book, all meeting again in the evening to say the Litanies of the Saints, or for the examination of conscience, and other prayers. These devotions, or others like them, are the daily exercises of the Scottish Catholics, and once a month at least, some of them two or three times, they go to confession, and feed and refresh their souls with the Food of Angels. All make a general confession once a year, many once or twice in a month. For some days in Holy Week they piously entertain their minds with the Spiritual Exercises.

Women of high rank minister with perfect humility to the sick and dying, and wrap the dead poor in winding sheets, and lay them out for burial; and these and similar spiritual and corporal works of mercy, all make it a practice to observe. The severest laws exist in this kingdom against hearing Mass, or receiving a priest into the house, and both of these are capital crimes; but our Catholic gentlemen regard their lives and the loss of their goods as nothing in comparison

with the good of their souls and the exercise of their religion, and are always ready to bring our Fathers, or other priests, to their houses, and entertain them with great reverence and attention.

One of our Fathers had persuaded a nobleman of high rank, who had previously been infected with the poison of heresy, to accept the Catholic faith instead, by putting before him the fallacies and falsehoods of the heretic teachers, by which he had been led astray, but could not so easily induce him to confess his sins, and he kept on putting this off for seven months together. At last, on Good Friday, moved by a discourse on the wonderful charity of Christ, shown in His Passion, he shed tears abundantly, and went eagerly to confession. After that he went so far in the fervour of his faith as to take means to have all his servants and household, a numerous body, instructed and formed to piety, and made all his children receive Catholic baptism at the hands of one of our Fathers. This roused the hatred and envy of the heretic preachers against him to such a degree, that he was compelled by the judges to pay a large sum of money imposed on him as a fine, and to quit the country, not without serious damage to his estate. But he bore the plunder of his goods with joy of heart, allured by the prospect of a better and enduring inheritance.

At the beginning of the year 1653 the Reverend James Macbreck, the Superior of the Mission, who resided at Edinburgh, the chief city of this kingdom, displayed admirable zeal and energy in encouraging the Catholics with his fervent exhortations, and in the conversion of heretics. He was betrayed by an English soldier whom he was endeavouring to bring over to the true faith, and thrown into prison, receiving

at his capture a severe wound with a drawn sword. A number of Catholics, of the nobles and common people, who were denounced by the same traitor as having been present when the Father said Mass, were arrested and put in prison at the same time. These were urged by the judge either to confess that the Father was a priest, and that they, being present, saw him offer the sacrifice, which would have been a confession of their own guilt, or to deny both these allegations upon oath. Unless they made up their minds immediately to adopt one of these courses, they would be sent to prison for the rest of their lives.

In order to rescue these poor people from their alarm and peril, the good Father at once told the whole of the story, and said he was a Catholic priest of the Society of Jesus. He requested the judges to let the other Catholics go unharmed, and said he himself was ready to die for his faith and profession. On this they released the other Catholics, and let them go away unharmed, but the jury found the Father guilty of death for having said Mass in violation of the laws of the kingdom, and he was sentenced to be hanged by a rope to the gallows until he was dead. This sentence he received with his knee to the ground, with perfect calmness and courage, and being asked according to their custom, whether he had any request to make, he said he had nothing to ask but that his death might be as speedy as possible, because he was eager to suffer in so good a cause. "Since," said he, "the day after to-morrow is the day on which Jesus my Lord suffered death" (it was then the Wednesday in Holy Week), "I pray earnestly that by your favour I may die with Him on the same day He died. That is all I wish." The judges and the bystanders were all

profoundly impressed with the lofty courage of the brave Father, who thus eagerly desired and requested to die for the orthodox Faith.

He was taken back to prison, and detained there for nearly a whole year, during which time he attracted general admiration by his learned arguments on the Faith, by the gentleness of his manner, and by what extorted the warm praises of the heretics themselves, the unselfish charity with which he devoted all the money which the Catholics sent him for his subsistence, to releasing prisoners who were confined for debt, and restoring them to freedom. So desirous was he of the life and safety of others, so careless of his own! At the end of the year, his sentence was commuted into one of banishment, and being released from prison, he was compelled to go abroad in the middle of the winter; to be put to death if ever he attempted to return to Scotland.

In the following year, 1654, Father William Grant was arrested and imprisoned, first at Aberdeen, and then was removed to Edinburgh, where he was detained for some time, and then sent back to Aberdeen. At length he was ordered by the judges to quit the country, or be imprisoned for life if he remained.

In the year 1657 a Calvinist captain in the army entered the house of a Catholic, and perceiving an image of Christ on the cross hanging over the bed, he took up a shoe, and set to work to hammer and defile it. But God did not permit this ungodly proceeding to continue, for he was seized then and there with cancer, which consumed his nose and all his face, and so he paid the penalty of his sacrilege; the art of the most skilful surgeons proving quite unavailing to cure him.

It has happened very frequently, almost daily, that

holy water, or sacred images have healed cases of poison or disease, not among men only, but cattle as well. The heretics, and in some cases even their preachers, in fear of the wholesale destruction of their flocks and herds, have eagerly gone to our Catholics for holy water or sacred relics. So great is the splendour of the Catholic religion, that even the enemies who conspire against it are compelled against their will to acknowledge it.

The sacraments of baptism, penance, matrimony, and even extreme unction, sedulously administered as they are by our Fathers, have produced many remarkable conversions. Large numbers every year have been brought by this agency to make confession of the sins of a lifetime, and to reform their mode of life, and not a few under the same influence have been brought back into great joy from a continuance of many years in heresy, to which they were induced by the fear of losing their worldly goods as far back as twenty or thirty years ago, publicly professing heresy all that time to the great danger of their souls, and injury and scandal of the Catholic religion. They are now recalled to tranquillity of conscience, and the exercises of piety. Some of these had been so agitated by the sting of conscience that the devil almost drove them to despair, and they were nearly out of their minds, but are now living piously, and in a manner conformable to their profession of the Catholic faith.

The Fathers have also laboured industriously and not unsuccessfully in reconciling quarrels, healing feuds and dissensions, and preventing litigation among Catholics before the heretic tribunals, which is always detrimental to the Catholic cause.

In the year 1656 all the Catholics in Scotland, of all

orders and degrees, were cited, at the instigation of the ministers, to appear before the judges, to render an account of their faith and religion. All without exception obeyed the summons. It was a joyful spectacle for angels and men to see men and women of the highest consideration in the land, together with others of all ranks and all ages, standing at the bar of justice, and fearlessly making profession of their faith.

The judges, to shake their resolution, threatened them, in the name of the Government, with loss of all their goods, and their liberty as well, unless they would abjure their faith. Not a man or a boy was in the least affected by threats or promises. For their constancy in their faith, they were hurried off to the prisons where sorcerers, homicides, adulterers, and all the worst criminals were confined, and went from the presence of the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer contumely for the faith and name of Jesus, and holding it an honour for their Lord's sake to be compelled to associate with the worst of convicts and criminals.

The life led by the Fathers in charge of this Mission is of the roughest and most arduous kind. Those who occupy the northern parts of the country have to be contented with such diet and dress, both of the poorest, as are used by the common people.

They travel always on foot, without any assistance of horse or carriage, and the priests usually bear the furniture of the altar on their own shoulders. They are always on the move, summer and winter, travelling from place to place where there seems the best opportunity of gaining souls to God. The roads are extremely rough in this part of the country, and it is necessary to climb or descend lofty hills covered with

thick brushwood (*myrica*) or else with sharp-pointed rocks, and often by tortuous and winding paths occasioned by the precipitous ravines. These are frequently traversed by rapid torrents very rarely spanned by any bridge, and only occasionally furnished with a ferry-boat; so that most often they have to pass over the sharp rocks with bare feet through the ice-cold water. Those who are entertained at the houses of noblemen in the south cannot go in and out like everybody else, Catholics being rarer in those parts, but have to remain cooped up in some remote corner of the building, and sometimes scarcely get a breath of fresh air for five or six months together. From all this some idea may be formed of the exceptionally high qualities required of the priests engaged in this Mission.

In this year, 1657, at the end of June, Father Francis Dempster was arrested at Edinburgh, betrayed by an apostate English soldier, and thrown into prison, where he still remains. The traitor has appropriated the chalice, chasuble, and furniture of the altar which the Father used, puts them on every day, and pretends to say Mass, in presence of quite a crowd of spectators gathered from Calvin's flock, from each of whom the wretched man gets sixpence for his pay, and fills his purse, but alas! is all unconscious or forgetful of the injury he is doing his own soul.

While I am writing this, there has just been published, and everywhere proclaimed under State authority, a law passed at the last session of the Parliament, requiring all Catholics of whatsoever order and degree, and of either sex, who have reached the age of sixteen, to abjure the principal tenets of the Catholic faith, adding a form of oath, and inflicting this penalty upon all who refuse to obey this godless edict, that all

their possessions, real and personal, are to be divided into three parts, two of which are confiscated to the Treasury of the Commonwealth, or the Protector, and only the third part left them to subsist upon.

Our hope is that all our Catholics will accept joyfully this spoiling of their goods, knowing that they have a better and enduring inheritance which man cannot give, nor take away.

Father Frederic Maxwell *to* Father General,[1] *Rawlinson* MSS., A. 10, fol. 33.

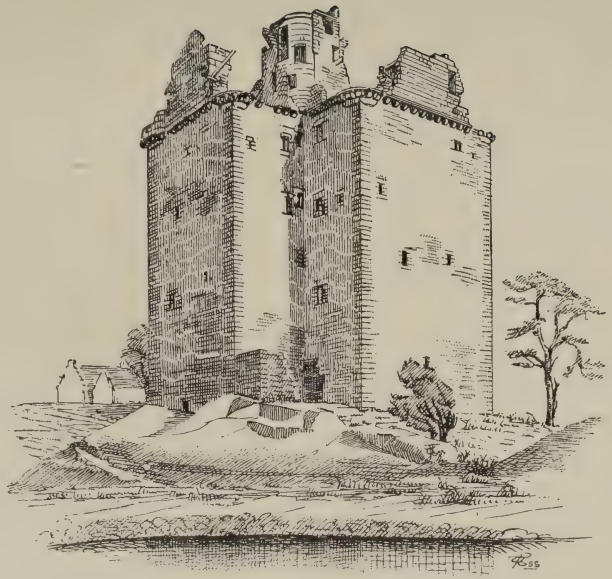
6th October 1653.

Illustrious Lord,

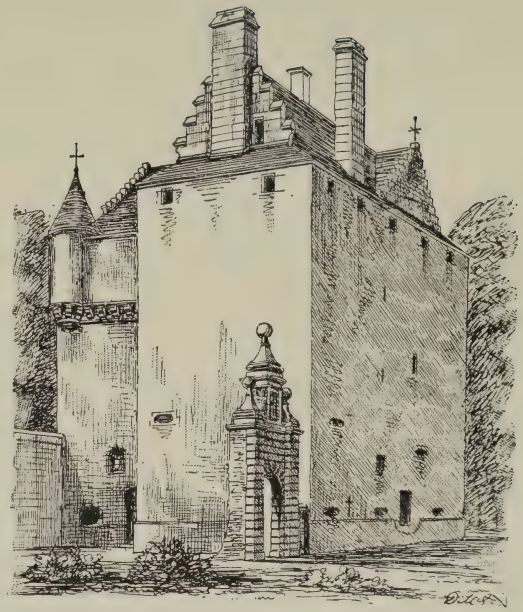
By the letter of your Lordship, addressed to Mr Macbreck, and since by the arrival of Mr Robert Gall, I am informed of your Lordship's tender and paternal affection towards your clients, which is the more grateful to us as we stand greatly in need of this consolation, to help us to endure the calamities of these terrible times. I cannot refrain from thanking your Lordship on my own account from the depth of my heart, and praying at the same time for the success of your administration of the office imposed upon you. I have now been three years in these parts, in constant peril of my safety and my life, but quite ready to undergo greater sufferings for the glory of my Lord, the least increase of which will be a most welcome result of my labours.

Matters are now more peaceful, for the power of our opponents being broken, their zeal has cooled in proportion, and the detection of their gross dishonesty has brought general dislike upon them. Besides this,

[1] Father Goswin Nickel.



NIDDRIE CASTLE, VIEW FROM THE NORTH-WEST.



CRAIG CASTLE, VIEW FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

From MacGibbon and Ross's "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland" (D. Douglass).

the strange variety in their opinions has introduced such general confusion that many are led to prefer the immoveable firmness of the Roman Rock. No slight hope has therefore dawned upon us, of an abundant harvest, which all our labourers are working hard to gather in, and foremost and most illustrious among them, the above-named Mr James Macbreck, who, though in prison, where he is kept in absolute uncertainty of his destination, shows to all the world an admirable example of piety and courage. The holiness of his life and gentleness of his manners win all hearts to him, to the great chagrin of our opponents.

This is all I have to say to your Lordship at present, but I will write again if opportunity occurs. I shall think myself happy if I receive a reply from your Lordship, whom, next to the common Lord of all, it is my highest ambition to please, and nothing in life can happen to me more grateful and desirable than so to live as to merit to be always

Your Lordship's least and humblest servant,

FREDERIC MAXWELL, S.J.

From SCOTLAND, 6*th October* 1653.

FATHER JAMES MACBRECK *to* FATHER GENERAL,
Stonyhurst MSS.

9*th March* 1654.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

Pax Christi.

I have no doubt your Reverence has learnt from the letters of Father Gall, the Superior of the Mission, my liberation from imprisonment, and the mode in which it was accomplished. I should have written on the subject before, but I put it off until the

present more convenient opportunity, when I know my letter is sure to reach your hands; for the letters I wrote in former months, and those which I wrote before I came out of prison, never reached your Reverence, as I have just learned from our Fathers at Douay, who never received the letters I addressed to them.

Your Reverence must therefore be informed that on the 9th of November last year, I was called out of prison to the judges, who some months before had been grievously offended, because I declined to present a petition for my life, having been duly condemned to death; and because a little while after, I refused to pay a fine of £100 English, and find a security who would be bound under penalty of £500 English, that I should leave the three dominions (Scotland, England, and Ireland) within one month, and never come back. The fine I absolutely refused to pay, lest the adversary should make it a precedent, in hope of gain, to persecute other priests. And as regarded the security, I said I would certainly not expose any of my neighbours to the risk of losing that sum, because, being a Religious I was at the disposal of my Superiors, who might at their pleasure send me back.[1]

Cromwell had strictly prohibited my being put to death, to my great grief, and because our Lord God, for my sins, did not find me worthy of the palm of

[1] Father Gall wrote on the 23rd of October 1653. "For the third time, I have now been able to visit F. James Macbreck. I found him cheerful and fully prepared to suffer even death and martyrdom. I brought with me that pre-eminent pledge of the divine love towards us—the holy Eucharist—which he welcomed to his breast with his eyes swimming in tears, to his incredible joy and mine. Understanding that the Government was not disposed to proceed with him to capital punishment, and observing that his close confinement had so impaired his constitution as to cause the expectoration of blood, I decided on leaving no stone unturned to obtain his

martyrdom; and my judges contented themselves with a declaration of their own extraordinary clemency towards me, in sparing my life when I had been sentenced to die, and sending me into banishment without any fine or security whatever, with only a promise given under my hand that I would leave the three dominions within one month, and never return, under forfeit of my life if I did. No one had ever been treated so mercifully before, and no one ever would be again. I gave them great thanks for their kindness, and said I should have thanked them quite as warmly if they had sentenced me to death, adding the words of St Paul, "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." I was accordingly released from imprisonment, with the general approbation of all the world except our ministers, on the 14th of November, being the eleventh month of my incarceration. I arrived at Douay on the 6th of this month, and am at the disposal of your Reverence as you shall see fit in the Lord, and you will find me, by the favour of God, quite prepared for anything, even, if necessary, another imprisonment. Meanwhile I heartily commend myself to your most holy sacrifices and prayers.

Your most humble servant and unworthy son,

JAMES MACBRECK.

DOUAY, 9*th March* 1654.

discharge. At length the court signified its consent, but solely on condition that he should expatriate himself for life, and take an oath to this effect—that he should find bail and security to the amount of 2000 gold crowns (*aurei*), and that he should pay down the sum of 500 before he could be set at liberty. His reply was, that he would rather rot and perish in chains and misery, than subscribe to conditions so unreasonable, and so unworthy of his religious profession." (Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i., pp. 538-9.)

Annual Letter of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for the years 1657-8 (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

1657.—This year is rendered memorable by the universal fidelity of the Catholics of Scotland in rejecting the impious abjuration of their faith, required from them under such severe penalties, and not less by the visible manifestation of the hand of divine Providence in the castigation of the enemies of the faithful. In order to distinguish Catholics from others, reduce them to want, and thus drive or crush the Catholic religion out of the land, it was enacted by the Parliament of last year (1656)—five or six disputed articles of Catholic belief being selected as a test—that anyone refusing to abjure these tenets should be condemned as a Papist, that being the term they use, to the forfeiture of two-thirds of all his goods, real and personal. The officials entrusted with the administration of law and order in the provinces and towns at once published this edict, and enjoined upon the officers of their courts to cite all the Catholic residents to appear at the tribunal.

The results were very grand, in the sight of God and his saints and angels, for all ranks and ages, tender maidens, women, mothers with child, old men and women, and the noblest of the land, came to the courts, fearless in word and look, inviting plunder of their goods, imprisonment, death itself if inflicted; but declaring that their souls were their own and free, and that their faith could not be taken from them, let the judges storm as they might. The five disputed articles, and all the other teaching of the holy Roman Church, they were willing to seal with their blood, if necessary.

The most illustrious Countess of Nithsdale, being

summoned with other Catholics to appear before the court, obeyed the call, and the articles of faith having been read over, the judges asked her whether she repudiated them. She replied, "You must first cut off my hand from my arm, my head from my neck, and draw all the blood from my veins, before you tear from my breast my belief in these articles of religion. I value the goods which last for ever, more than those which must shortly perish. I prefer things that are eternal to things temporal and transitory. If you are determined to confiscate my goods, I will retrench me in my daily food and apparel, and rejecting the garments of silk I have hitherto been accustomed to wear, I will dress in plain linen or woollen cloth. My garb shall be an index of my disposition, simple and like the every-day dress of the lowest rank of the people, and I shall gain this advantage, that my mind, less intent upon the cares of daily life, will be free to transfer all its industry and attention to the acquisition of goods far preferable to the riches of this world!"

The judges were not a little struck with this indication of unconquerable courage in the breast of a woman, and some one openly said that, among all the religious sects with which Scotland was infested, the Roman Faith at least was the one that would bear taxing best. By this he meant to imply that the Catholics were the only party who preferred their faith to their fortune; while all the others thought more of their fortune than of their faith.

The truth of this judgment we soon found out, to our great joy; for the constancy of the Catholics, thus exhibited, and continually confirmed by the exhortations of the members of our Society, evidently produced this effect, that waverers were strengthened in their resolu-

tion, the hearts of some of the most obstinate of the heretics became softened towards us, and Catholics themselves were brought to greater perfection in the contempt of worldly advantages, and desire of heavenly things.

Before I go on to another subject, I must not pass over a truly memorable instance of courage and constancy in the profession of our faith exhibited by a young man named Thomas Pain. He is a countryman of about twenty years of age, who taught himself by reading the Catholic works which are published in the vernacular, and profited so far by the exhortation of one of our Fathers that he made it his task on all occasions to encourage the Catholic belief in his less instructed friends and comrades of his own class. He repeated to groups of them whom he found assembled in the cottages, the lessons he had learnt from our Fathers (often prevented by their extreme poverty from addressing these people themselves), or from the books he had read; and he related stories of the endurance of the martyrs under persecution, to induce them to follow so noble an example.

Calvin's ministers at last hearing of this, summoned him before the tribunal as a perverter of the people. The judges flew into a rage with the pious young man, who exhibited no sign of penitence for what he had done, but rather the contrary, and ordered him to be confined in a certain gloomy and fetid dungeon. There he was compelled to remain in bitterly cold weather, without fire, light, or bed to lie on, and had nothing given him to eat or drink for five or six days but a fragment of oaten bread, and a little cup of beer. Being almost starved to death, he was attacked by fever first, and then by dysentery, and none of his

Catholic friends were permitted to go near him. To add to his misery, the dungeon was full of swarms of field-mice, which ate holes in his clothes until they admitted the air like a sieve. He had, in fact, as good as no clothing at all to keep himself warm, and as often as he went off to sleep, the mice made a combined attack upon him, and cruelly gnawed his flesh. All this the brave youth endured with heroic courage, sighing after the Author and Finisher of his faith, Jesus, Who bore the cross and shame. He assuaged his sufferings by meditating on the torments endured by the holy martyrs, thus strengthening his failing soul, which seemed about to depart from his macerated body. The gaoler, who felt much for him, represented his miserable plight to the judge, but told his tale to deaf ears, for the judge, a hard man, was not in the least moved by the recital, and would grant no grace to the prisoner.

But the sacred oracle soon proved true; "The hard heart shall have evil in the end." God Himself undertook the punishment of the cruel judge, always an implacable enemy of the Catholics, for as he was returning from Galloway, where he had been on an errand of persecution, he was drowned in the river Cree, an insignificant stream, not swollen, nor flooded, being carried away by the current. Five partners in his guilt and its penalty were drowned with him at the same time. Of these, two paid the forfeit of a shameful defection from the faith, for though educated by pious Catholic parents, they had gone over to the Calvinist heresy, and were not afraid to betray to persecution their former Catholic acquaintances. Indeed, it was common matter of remark among the heretics themselves, as well as our own people, that

most of those who in these late years distinguished themselves as persecutors of the Catholics, met with violent or evil deaths.

There is a remarkable instance of this in the case of the Baron of Closeburn, head of the house of Kilpatrick. This nobleman accepted from the Calvinist ministers the mission of harrying the Catholics in the south of Scotland. Attended by a band of armed men, he proceeded to enter their houses, seized the sacred furniture for profane use, arrested the inmates, and threw them into prison, fined the wealthier among them to the full extent of their means, and did all he could in every place to eradicate their religion. But before long, the divine vengeance overtook him, and in a fit of madness he died by his own hand, sending a pistol shot into his breast.

Then there is the case of the Baron of Hempisfield, chief of the house of Charter,[1] who undertook several expeditions against the Catholics, in company with a band of horsemen, and left no stone unturned to harass and extirpate them. He was drowned in swimming across a shallow stream that runs near his castle, and his body, carried away by the current, was never found, though his heirs and relatives searched everywhere for it. At last they buried a coffin full of earth, with the same ceremony as if the Chief were lying in it. But the legend holds its ground, and is to this day firmly believed, that the spirit of the deceased, or his shade, is often seen surrounded by demons and spirits of the air, and haunts the castle by night, with great noise and tumult, in the midst of ghosts and spectres, calling

[1] Charters or Charteris of Amisfield, also called Hempisfield, in Dumfriesshire. The Tower of Amisfield, standing four miles north-east of Dumfries, is one of the most remarkable specimens of the baronial tower existing in Scotland.

upon his friends to help him with lamentable voice, but all in vain.

A very large number of those, who, holding high office in the State, set themselves to plunder the goods of the Catholics, imagined that, by this means, they would greatly augment their own private fortune. But they found the result the other way, for the wealth thus wrongfully acquired proved to them in the end only "Gold of Toulouse." Their possessions diminished rather than increased, and they learned the truth of the saying of the divine Wisdom; "Some divide their own goods, and grow richer, others seize the goods of others, and are always in want."

This very year a peasant in Galloway, a well-known district of Scotland, set to work to plough his land on the day of Christ's nativity, in spite of his father's remonstrance. But he had scarcely put the oxen in the yoke, and got the ploughshare in the ground, when the strongest ox fell down dead. Convinced by this rebuke to his contempt and obstinacy, he repented seriously, though too late, and releasing the other animal, returned home sad enough, swearing that he would never attempt any servile work again on Christmas Day, let Calvin's ministers rail at him as they might.

It is well known that in those parts of the country where the pestilence of heresy has spread, the worship of the devil has spread at the same time, and the people are there more addicted than elsewhere to the use of sorcery, magic, charms and spells. Evidence of this may be seen in every part of the country. It is the commonest sight in the world to see whole regiments of wizards and witches carried through the air, or over the fields, moving in bands as if they were armed forces,

and many individuals have against their will been compelled to join them, and returned to their homes with their hair on end, their eyes gleaming, their minds distraught, calling aloud, to their own terror, and to that of all who heard them, that they were afraid the devil was going to carry them away again. Many of these people received aid from our Fathers, who sprinkled them with holy water, or gave them the waxen image, called an Agnus Dei, and it was always a cause of wonder to the sectaries that those possessed, after the application of holy water, were soon restored to health, while the ministers, if called in to assist them, could effect nothing by their prayers or ejaculations.

A Catholic serving-man had his arm so contracted and dried up that he could not use it to convey food to his mouth, or put on or take off his clothes. One of our Fathers took him to a fountain sacred to Saint John, teaching him on the way how to make the acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition. On reaching the fountain the patient was unable to stretch out his hand to take off his jacket, so the Father removed it for him, and dipped the disabled man in the sacred water of the stream. This done, the arm began to recover strength, and soon the man discovered, to his great joy, that he was able to use it as well as ever.

A man of the people accepted payment from Calvin's ministers to destroy a chapel sacred to the Blessed Virgin, to which large numbers of Catholics were accustomed to go on pilgrimage, and carried out the sacrilegious deed. But almost immediately afterwards he went raving mad, and was so violent that he had to be bound with iron chains, lest he should do mischief to himself or another.

Another man placed a ladder against a crucifix, stand-

ing in the market-place of the town of Inverkeithing,[1] and ascending it, began to batter the sacred emblem with a hammer. He immediately fell backwards off the ladder, was seized with madness, and shortly died.

A Calvinist farmer ventured to plough up, and sow with corn, the enclosure around an old chapel, long since ruined. The ground was once used as a graveyard, and always hitherto had been held sacred. But when autumn came, and he went to look for his crop, he found to his horror, every grain of corn swollen and dripping with what looked like fresh blood.

Not far from the city of Dunkeld, which was once an episcopal see, and is still a place well known to fame, situated in the heart of Scotland, there is a chapel dedicated to a local saint, known as St Gruon,[2] and close to the chapel a fountain, from which very many sick, piously drinking the water, have been immediately healed. In order to put a stop to the crowds, both of Catholics and Calvinists who frequented the place, the ministers hired a worthless fellow to profane the fountain. This man, finding himself quite unable alone to keep away the multitudes who approached the well, at the suggestion of the devil bethought himself of sprinkling the source of the water with the contents of a load of dirt, and did so, but not with impunity. For a year and a half afterwards he suffered from stercorous vomit. At length, by the advice of the Catholics, and by way of penance for his shameful sacrilege, he returned to the well, and humbly begged pardon of Almighty God for the outrage of which he had been guilty, after which he was, within a very

[1] MS. Inverkeathin.

[2] MS. *Sacellum divo gruoni sacrum.*

short time, restored to his former health. Calvin's ministers, snarling with envy, were unable to explain the miracle which had occurred, adapted as it was nevertheless to convince their perverse minds, but for the veil over their hearts, so that though they saw signs and wonders, they did not believe.

From the time these people abandoned the Catholic religion they have never ceased breaking up into ever new sects. There has lately arisen among them the sect called the *Tremblers* (*vulgo* "Quakers"). These, when they are going to pray, act as if they were seized with paralysis, foam at the mouth, grow red in eyes and face, their whole body trembles; they sway as if they were possessed, and then they hold that the Spirit is acting upon them from within, and its impulse and suggestion must be obeyed, and this they consider the sum of religion. In a word, the maxim of this sect is, "Obey the Spirit." Not long ago, a disciple of this sect went to a neighbour who held the same views, and requested that he might have intercourse with his wife. They fasted and prayed to make sure of the will of the Spirit, and concluding that it was so, the neighbour permitted it, and afterwards also access to his daughter, joining crime to crime, the one by his criminal consent, the other by his act and deed. But then the injured man said to the visitor, "The Spirit strongly urges me to cut off your head. It would be the height of wickedness in either of us to resist the motion of the Spirit. Why do you hesitate? Hold out your neck." "I will hold it out," replied the other, "for the Spirit assures me that an angel will stand by you, and hold your hand, as Abraham when about to slay his son." He bent his neck, and the other, not withheld, but urged on by the spirit of darkness, struck his head from

his body with a drawn sword, though the unhappy man expected nothing less.

These are some of the monstrous and pestilential inventions, which deceive the minds of men under the guise of human reason, and against these, and others like these, or worse, we have continually to do battle.

The latest of these developments is the new heresy of the Socinians, or modern Arians, who eat out the very heart of the tree of life, the Deity of Christ, trouble and defile the river which makes glad the City of God, the Church militant, and destroy the pure truth and infallibility of the sacred scriptures. All these heresies are protected by the laws of this country, even that of the Atheists whose number is continually increasing, and whose professors are allowed to live in peace, and enjoy their possessions. Catholics alone are persecuted by the law, and if they will not turn away from their faith, are deprived of their goods, have their sons torn from them in childhood to be educated in heresy, and suffer countless other inconveniences and mortifications, and yet by the singular mercy of God, not one man under the charge of our Society, and brought up in our rule of faith, has ever shown the least indication of wavering or doubt.

Besides all this, our Fathers have been throughout this year unwearied in their labours, strengthening Catholics in their faith, confuting and converting heretics, administering the holy Sacraments of the Church, addressing congregations frequently and always with good result, catechizing assiduously, refreshing the minds of others as well as their own with the Spiritual Exercises, reconciling enemies, relieving the poor, visiting the sick, guiding the dying to an eternal and blessed

life. And all this toil has been amply repaid by its results. Very many persons have abjured heresy and embraced the true faith, and these, neither the storm of persecution, nor the threatened loss of their worldly goods, nor dismissal from the public office they previously held, have been able to deter on their way to take shelter in the camp of the Church.

A great many young maidens, some opulent, others more slenderly endowed, have rejected noble and wealthy suitors who offered themselves in marriage, because they were heretics, preferring their faith to the advantages of wealth and rank, and all the conveniences of life.

A young lady of noble birth, still nobler for her faith, born of heretic parents, secretly received instruction in the Catholic religion from her nurse, and so eagerly accepted and embraced it that nothing could induce her to give it up. Her parents alternately caressed and threatened, her friends pointed out that she was risking the chance of an advantageous marriage.

Her parents even had recourse to the whip, and that frequently, and she was imprisoned in a little room like a condemned cell, excluded from all conversation or society, her Catholic books taken away from her, and subjected to endless trials of her constancy. Nothing, so far, has had any effect, and she still openly professes that she is a Catholic by conviction.

She consented, at her parents' request, to hold frequent colloquies with the Calvinist ministers, who did all they could, if not to convert her, at least to make her waver in her faith, but without any result whatever. For a year and a half she has remained without any human consolation, but with her soul full

of internal peace and joy, affording no ordinary example of constancy in the faith. I could relate many such histories if time and space permitted, the fruit of our labours, and the proof that we have not been negligent in discharging the task entrusted to us.

CHAPTER III

THE RESTORATION OF THE KING AND THE REVIVAL OF CATHOLICISM, 1660-1666

Introductory Note

Charles II. was a refugee at the Hague on the death of his father. He listened to an invitation of the Scots who had proclaimed him their King on the 5th of February 1649, and arrived in the Cromarty Firth on the 16th of June 1650.

The approach of Cromwell soon rendered his abode in Scotland unsafe. Hoping to be joined by the English Royalists, he entered England. Cromwell immediately pursued him, and with a superior army gained the battle of Worcester (1651). Charles fled abroad, and a few years later, Monk so skilfully prepared the Restoration that Charles, without a struggle, on the 29th of May 1660, entered his capital amidst universal acclamations.

On his restoration Charles wished to requite the fidelity of Catholics to the Stuart cause by granting toleration, but the anti-Catholic feeling was too strong. Every national calamity was attributed to the papists, and even the great fire of London in 1666 was ascribed to the "treachery and malice of the popish faction."

The most prominent public event of the year 1663 was the promulgation by Parliament of a law directed against all who through popery did not attend regularly at the preaching of sermons in the church (p. 85). These were to be punished by the forfeit of a third part of their revenue or of their moveable goods, or of their privilege if they carry on any mercantile business. This law, however, was believed to be principally directed against all the Puritans, Presbyterians, and Quakers, who, out of hatred to the new bishops, inveighed against the ministers appointed by them.

Neither threats nor any measures taken in pursuance of them

had much affected the Catholics, and the spectacle of so many new converts joining them in spite of these persecutions, occasioned their adversaries new wonder and new grief (pp. 86, 87). The piety of Catholics often acted as an incentive to join the Church, and many have been converted to the faith when they saw the dying, after tenderly kissing the crucifix, joyfully surrender their souls to God, with a firm hope of eternal happiness (p. 96). It had always been the practice to bring to the priests persons possessed or troubled by evil spirits, to be delivered from their influence. This very year many were brought to them, and they immediately set them free (p. 101).

During the year 1664, the number of the faithful continued daily to increase (p. 102). This appears from the letters received from various parts of the country. In Dundee they had to lament the conversion of some of their principal citizens (p. 102). Terrible threats were thundered from the pulpits by the ministers, but they found that their excommunication was disregarded, as excommunicate persons are no longer deprived of civil rights (p. 105). Nothing could more encourage the Catholics to adhere firmly to their faith, nothing could act as a more powerful inducement to heretics to join their communion, than the Christian fortitude and zeal displayed by the priests. And the Catholics everywhere boldly followed and imitated them, giving many examples of heroic firmness in their faith, and charity to their neighbours (p. 110).

Annual Letter of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for 1663.

The death of one out of the very small number of our Fathers in Scotland this year has occasioned great sorrow to his colleagues, and to all the Catholics in this country, who loved him as a father, and reverenced and honoured him as a man of singularly holy and innocent life.

This was Father John Smith, who, educated at the Scottish College in Rome, and receiving his orders there, returned immediately to his native country, in

fulfilment of a vow he had made to engage in the Scottish Mission, and remained three years, gaining great praise for his zeal and piety. At the end of that time he sought admission to our Society, and his request being granted, he was sent to the novitiate at Bordeaux. Here in a short time he sowed in his soul the seeds of virtues which, after his return to Scotland, grew into an abundant harvest. He always carried with him and studied the life of St Ignatius, and selecting certain qualities of that great man kept them before his mind for imitation. The first of these was zeal for prayer, from which alone almost all other virtues derive their sap and vigour, and in this he so excelled that all his life was in effect a continual prayer. Alone in his cell, when travelling, and even when awake in his bed, he was always engaged in prayer, frequently with many groans and tears. And even in the struggle of death, afflicted with grievous pain in head and stomach, and until he drew his last breath, he never ceased to pray, using either forms of devotion which dwelt in his memory, or brief ejaculations. At last, his strength visibly failing, he earnestly entreated the bystanders to pray for him, one and all, adding, "I can no longer pray for myself." And with the word "prayer," strength and life together left him. Another point, which he observed Ignatius made one of his principal cares, was guarding purity of heart by frequent examination and sacred confession, and he was accordingly particularly diligent in the examination of his conscience and confession to a Priest, as he had opportunity. The very slightest faults he charged himself with seriously, and would track out anything in himself which bore the least appearance of sin. But his zeal for others was as great as for himself. During

the twenty-two years he passed in this Mission he traversed a great part of Scotland every year on foot, often more than once. He was small of stature and far from strong, yet he never could be deterred from undertaking these journeys, either by the violence of the wind, which is very great in this country, owing to the number of inlets of the sea and innumerable mountains, or by the rivers being often flooded by heavy rains, or by deep snow. Nor was he to be kept back by the difficulties of the time or the prevalence of persecution, though he was well known to a very large number of heretics in all parts of the country.

One story regarding him is both a good one, and an instance of the evident help of God. A reward of a considerable sum of money had been publicly offered to anyone who would bring a priest in as prisoner. This being made known, a certain bold fellow, of great bodily strength, but very slender means, boasted among his companions that he would convey a priest, whom he knew of, prisoner to Aberdeen that very day. Knowing where the priest lived, and the road he was sure to traverse, the bravo armed himself with sword, pistol, and dagger, and went out to meet him. The Father went unarmed as usual, only carrying a slender walking-stick, and was thinking of God, and engaged in prayer, when the ruffian advanced to seize him. The priest, though he was like a pigmy to a giant, calling God and the saints to his aid, threw his arms round the other's body with such a tight grasp, that he threw him on the ground, and held him there firmly, not permitting him to rise until he acknowledged himself beaten, and solemnly swore to keep the peace in future. The priest then proceeded on his way unmolested, leaving his enemy quite astonished at the misfortune that had

befallen him, and the manifest interposition of the power of God. All who were acquainted with the priest, and knew him to be weak in body and timid in disposition, could not fail to recognise the aid of God. After many years passed in toil and peril he began to be afflicted with gout, and was compelled to attach himself to the numerous household of a man of high rank, where he made many converts to the Catholic Faith. He said Mass daily, having every facility for doing so, and on Sundays and festivals addressed either a sermon to the people, or a catechetical instruction to the inmates of the house. With these, every evening, he recited the Litanies of the Saints in the vernacular. This was followed by examination of conscience, after which he suggested to his hearers some point on which they could profitably meditate, and then, after sprinkling them with holy water, dismissed them with his priestly benediction.

These particulars are, in fact, only the common record of the Fathers of the Mission, but in the case of a man who was engaged so long and so assiduously in the same round of duties, they seem to deserve special mention. He never undertook anything, however trifling in itself, without, like his father Ignatius, directing his intention to God with the sign of the Cross. Like Ignatius, he always took extreme care to have the altar, and everything surrounding it, bright and burnished, and the sacred vestments perfectly clean and in good order. He was a man essentially gentle in disposition, and endowed with singular humility of mind, and many were attracted to the Faith by the simple charm of his manner, and the inborn candour of his mind. Yet he grew very animated in his controversies with the heretics when he found them obstinate and determined in error,

or when they attacked the Catholic religion in injurious terms; nor could he endure from them any false quotations from Scripture or the writings of the holy Fathers, and his excellent memory enabled him at once to detect and expose these misinterpretations of the sacred writings. I cannot make a guess at the number of his converts, but this much I have ascertained, and can say with certainty, that I have never been in any part of Scotland where I have not found many whom he had converted to the Faith.

The most prominent public event of this year has been the promulgation by the States of the Realm, which they call the Parliament, of a law directed against all who through Popery, as they style it, or for any other ground of discontent with the present established government of the Church, absent themselves from attending regularly at the preaching of sermons in the churches. These are to be punished by the forfeit of a third part of their revenues if they are possessors of lands or houses, or of their moveable goods if they are not holders of land, and the deprivation of all their privileges if they carry on any mercantile business or mechanical art in any town or city. This law has not given the Catholics much uneasiness, and is not, it is believed, principally directed against them, but against the Puritans or Presbyterians and the Quakers or Enthusiasts, especially in the southern and western portions of the kingdom, who out of hatred to the new bishops, are always inveighing against the ministers commissioned by them. For they hate the bishops as if they were dogs or snakes, detesting them quite as much as they do the Catholic priests.

Many very amusing indications of this feeling have occurred during the present year. In some places,

"Cathedra Veritatis," the legend inscribed upon the pulpits in the churches, has been replaced by "Cathedra Varietatis," the doctrine taught being subject to so many modifications. In others, the floor of the pulpit has been loosened, and the preacher, ascending the steps, tumbled over into a heap of filth placed there to receive him. A new minister, who was about to give a specimen of his learning and eloquence to his congregation for the first time, had tobacco ground fine and mingled with his broth, given him by a Puritan woman. He had scarcely entered the pulpit when he was seized with violent pains in the stomach, then with nausea. What followed I will not describe, but he certainly did not leave a good odour behind him when he retired. Songs and satires directed against the bishops are in circulation everywhere, until to check the further progress of the mischief, armed men have been sent by the Viceroy into the towns, to coerce the mutinous, and keep the rest in order by the threat of force. In addition to this, a number of Puritan ministers, regarded as the authors of these disorders, have been interdicted from preaching, and others put into their places. Some of them have even been thrown into prison, together with certain of the Enthusiasts, or Quakers, who are a set of men to all appearance religious, but very rustic and illiterate, who not only despise all titles of honour for themselves, but grudge giving them to others, even to those of the highest rank. But when the Spirit, as they say, breathes upon them, they are seized with a trembling horror, and break forth into vigorous and powerful preaching. The Spirit comes equally upon men and women, and they speak and act only upon the Spirit's impulse. Under this influence, they reverence no

human authority, although towards private persons they are usually most just and kind in their dealings. They hate the ministers above all others, and point to them as carnal, sensual, and mercenary men, and deceivers of the people. In my opinion, there is in these people no movement of Spirit, either good or evil, except perhaps, of pride and hypocrisy, but in some of them there is certainly zeal, though not according to knowledge, and many of them, as the Apostle says, began in the Spirit, but are consummated in the flesh (Gal. iii. 3).

Some other threats have been held out against the Catholics during the present year. A decree was issued by the Privy Council ordaining that all bishops and parish ministers should draw up a list of the Catholics residing within their borders, and proceed against them with severity. But neither these threats, nor any measures taken in pursuance of them, have much affected the Catholics. I have myself heard noblemen say cheerfully, and with courage, that they rendered thanks to God and the King for only taking from them one-fourth part of their revenues, whereas under the usurper Cromwell and the Government of the rebellion, they had only one-fourth left to them, the other three parts being confiscated to the public treasury. Nor is it to be wondered at that the older Catholics, long accustomed to this wholesale plunder of their possessions, and used to imprisonment and exile, are but little afraid now. The spectacle of so many new converts, even during these persecutions, and of the ancient Church rising again from her ruins, occasions her adversaries new wonder and new grief.

In truth I find in all the letters I receive from the Fathers of the Mission, continual accounts of new

accessions to our numbers. One of them, writing from a Puritan neighbourhood, where he lives, informs me that he has reconciled more than a hundred, and these principally from noble families. From other provinces I receive very similar accounts.[1] But the time of the Fathers is so taken up with attendance upon the sick and persons in distress, and they are so very few in number, that they have not much time to bestow on the conversion of heretics. They are urged by the words of the Apostle; Charity for all, but especially for the household of the Faith. These are entitled to the first consideration, and receive it, but in far less degree than is due to their numbers or the fervour of the missionaries, had they time to attend to all. Scarcely have we entered a house when we are met with a torrent of expostulation and complaint. "Unhappy are we, left so long without priest, sacraments, sermon, exhortation." I have seen a young man, sent as a messenger from a numerous household, and many other families living near, throw himself upon his knees before the Superior, and implore with tears that one of our number might be sent to the place he lived in. And he could not even then obtain his petition without some delay, for the Superior had not a single priest at his disposal in any part of the kingdom who was not already fully occupied. But he promised to send one

[1] The same is mentioned by the Superior of the Scottish Mission, in his report to Propaganda: "By the grace of God three illustrious barons have recently been secretly received into the Church. One of these is the foremost baron of all Scotland, and head of a distinguished family. Among the people the number of conversions has been so great, especially in Strathaven, and in Strathbogie; and the Minister of Strathbogie recently announced in his sermon that if the Church of the Lady Marchioness increased as much in the next three months as it had done in the last, he would give up preaching there altogether." Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 344.

as soon as he could, and as soon as he could he kept his word.

If there is any fault in all this, it is not on the side of our priests, all of whom the Superior's vigilance keeps hard at work. And to say the truth, the presence of a Superior always alert, and always encouraging others both by word and example, is not less necessary here, than if he were an officer commanding a camp. For wherever the Senior has grown tepid in the midst of the daily labours and difficulties of his position, zeal has always declined among the missionaries in the same proportion, and unless obedience urges on the tepid and applies a spur to the weary, ease and sloth are always liable to make themselves felt.

But what men are there whose zeal and enthusiasm would not be stirred up to the highest point by such accounts as we are continually receiving from every part of the country, not only of frequent conversions, but much more, of Catholic piety! Of noblemen who wear their hair-shirts at their sports and in the riding-school, and even when out hunting! Of delicate women and tender maidens who mortify themselves with the hair-shirt and the discipline! Of young men who deprive themselves of their clothing to clothe Christ in his poor! Of men of rank, and they not few in number, who to heal the wounds, ulcers, and diseases of the poor, supply themselves with medicines and plasters, which they apply with their own hands, with charity equal to their skill! Of rich men, and there are many, who give large alms annually to poor Catholics or those of slender means, as regularly and punctually, as if these were pensions to which the recipients were legally entitled. One noble lady provides entirely for five poor

persons every year, in honour of the Five Wounds of Christ. Some men regularly practise meditation and examination of themselves, and some in addition devote eight days in every year to the Spiritual Exercises of our holy Father Ignatius! We have no monasteries or religious houses in this land, but religious hearts are not wanting, of either sex. I could give many instances of all these things, but in fact they are so frequent that I need not dwell on individual cases. Many do not even take fish on Fridays, some only dry bread and cold water.

These observances of the Christian profession thus piously carried out, often compel the heretics, and sometimes their ministers, however reluctantly, to confess that the Catholics far excel the people of any other sect whatever, in their life and conversation. This has been, quite recently and quite openly, acknowledged by some of the ministers at a meeting of their number, where they had under discussion a proposal to excommunicate a certain nobleman who had become a convert to the Catholic faith, and take measures to bring back, if they could, some noble ladies to heresy. In truth, both one and the other of these, from the time they came over to the Catholic camp, have set a brilliant example of piety and charity to the whole province, and that of no ordinary kind. Nor is there any way in which a Catholic convert sooner betrays himself than by the remarkable change which takes place in his mode of life, and the bent of his disposition to all things good and honest. And on the other hand, there is hardly an instance of anyone forsaking the true faith, who has not already signally receded from piety and virtue. This has been proved quite lately in the case of a Catholic nobleman—(for there are nominal Catholics in this

country, as elsewhere, who are a cause of grave scandal to true Catholics, and give offence even to the heretics) who was for a considerable time addicted to drunkenness and debauchery. First he ceased to frequent the Sacraments, then he used to launch out in reproaches against the priests who argued and remonstrated with him, and at last he abjured the faith and made formal profession of heresy. This had at least one good effect, for it enabled all men to see that heresy is the sink and cesspool of the Catholic Church, and all filth and uncleanness flow into it.

But apostates of this kind generally meet with speedy retribution for their crime. They are tormented, first by the sting of conscience, then by the assaults and trickery of the devil. This was seen lately in the case of an apostate lady, who allowed herself to be persuaded by her husband to feign heresy. As soon as she began to attend the temples of the heretics, she felt as if beset by evil spirits, until she was driven nearly mad. Her husband first called in the aid of the heretical ministers, but without any good effect. Then, at her earnest request, and despairing of her recovery on any other terms, he himself brought her to one of our priests, who, sprinkling her with holy water, and persuading her to make a confession, restored her at once to the Church and to her former health. Others this year have been set free from spectres and demons, and others have been cured of long-standing maladies, by the prayers of our priests and the sprinkling of holy water.

It may be worthy of notice that seldom, if ever, does anyone do violence to sacred things, especially to the ancient shrines consecrated to the Virgin Mother of God, without incurring the vengeance of the Almighty

immediately, and in some very wonderful way. A nobleman conveyed the stones of a ruined chapel to his own ground, and used them in building a house for himself. But the house was no sooner completed, and the roof put on, than it became so terribly haunted by demons by night, that no one has ever been able to rest within its walls.

Great calamities and miseries, and fear of instant death, have more effect upon the minds of heretics than anything else. It is as the prophet says of the Jews; when He slays them, they seek Him. At such times they will call out for the aid of the priest, and declare that heresy has brought them nothing but the wrath of God, and evils innumerable. But alas! it is generally too late. Many in this land have found it impossible, having lived in heresy, to die Catholics.

Another Annual Letter for 1663.

In last year's Annals we related, or, rather, we compressed into them, a record extending back for more than twenty years, tracing the varied fortunes of our religion in that time, the fierce warfare of the Protestants among themselves, the insurrections of the Puritans against the King, and its final suppression by force of arms; lastly, we related the conversion last year of many persons to the Catholic faith. This has been repeated in the present year, large numbers having first begun by abjuring heresy, and then embraced the faith. But some have experienced a check since the creation of new bishops, in place of those whom the Puritans ejected from their sees twenty years ago and banished from the kingdom. For these people have taken it into their heads that the Anglican church, being governed

by bishops and in that respect approaching the constitution of the true Church, differs but little from the Catholic in what they call the fundamentals. And now that the Church of Scotland, being once more placed under the rule of bishops, has adopted the form and ritual of the English, they think they are safe in placing their confidence there. But alas! alas! how miserably they allow themselves to be taken in by a false and empty pretence of religion, as much like the true as a spectre or a ghost is like the human body! It is as plain as daylight that in the form of ecclesiastical government, in which they trust, there is nothing true or sincere, nothing that is not mere pretence or corruption. To begin with, our Scottish Protestants have by common consent adopted the King as pontiff of the Church on earth. As to how the members obey their new head, we have a testimony in the dissevered head of good King Charles the First. Then for the Catholic bishops, they have substituted superintendents, heretics like themselves, some of them preachers from their own clergy, some noblemen and laymen, until by the King's decree they were styled bishops, but not so created or consecrated, because there was not a single bishop in the whole kingdom to discharge the task. Next, for general councils, whose authority these league-breakers insisted on abrogating, they substituted conventicles or synods of their own, wherein the elders were given an equal vote with the clergy in determining the articles of faith.

Lastly, as they imagined the Catholics had now no other refuge left them but the authority of the holy Fathers of the Church, they attempted to destroy even this; and the new ministers, hardly worthy of the lowest

benches in the schools of grammar, or philosophy, became all at once, like Luther, so many Augustines and Chrysostoms, who had at last attained to the knowledge of the genuine sense of Scripture by some divine afflatus or instinct. For this power they did not blush to claim, impudently and openly, and will boast of it still, if you press them with quotations from the writings of the Fathers, and get them to say what they really think.

To return to the new bishops, how little worthy they are of the name and office will sufficiently appear from the circumstance that in opposition to the Puritans, who regard them frankly as so many dogs and snakes, and would suffer anything rather than submit to their rule and authority, they do not venture to assert outright that bishops exist by divine appointment. This is evident from a tract[1] just written and published by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the Puritans boldly enough proclaim the same, with trumpet voices, everywhere and continually. But enough of the heretics.

With regard to the progress of the Catholic cause, I will say regarding our own labours, that it is acknowledged as truly marvellous that eight men in all, or for a time at most nine, should have been able to accomplish the good which all perceive to have been done. Multitudes have been converted to the Catholic faith among the common people, many from among the nobility, and of these some of rank and fame. One of these was beset with promises and offers of official promotion, to dissuade him from listening to

[1] This tract (*libellus*) was probably one of the Proclamations, or of the Acts of Council restoring Episcopacy, which were issued on the advice, it was said, of James Sharp, lately promoted to the Archbishopric of St Andrews.

the Catholics, and at one time he really hesitated, and seemed likely to put on the pretence of believing in heresy, but at last, in answer to the earnest exhortations of one of our Fathers, and by a divine impulse, he exclaimed, "What a wretch I am to think so much of honour or comfort in this mortal life, when I cannot count upon living for one single day! What a paltry knave to have resisted so long, if not in words, at any rate in deeds, the truths I could not but recognise with my mind! I sought all kinds of subterfuges to escape the torment of my conscience! God was calling me, but so far I have been inattentive to the call. But now I would not pretend to be a heretic for one single day, if kingdoms were offered me!" To-day, having been received into the Church, he not only sets a brilliant example of piety and observant attention, but uses his remarkable learning and eloquence, not without effect, in the endeavour to persuade others to follow his example.

Another task, involving no less labour, our Fathers have set themselves, which is dealing with Catholics themselves, confirming them in their faith, and urging them to greater piety, in frequent exhortations to more frequent reception of the Sacraments, the recitation of prayers and litanies in their households, and daily examination of conscience. These exercises of piety greatly attract the admiration of Protestants, and act as an incentive to join the Church, and this particularly in the case of such as live in Catholic households; of these indeed there are very few who have not either embraced the Faith, or felt at least a strong inclination to do so, for those who are not influenced by the advice and arguments of the Catholics are attracted by their example. Then again, we have been very careful and

sedulous in our attendance on the sick, and in supplying their wants both by day and night; making a point of being present with the dying, administering the Sacraments to them privately, and in the presence of Catholics only, afterwards, before all who might happen to be present, leading them to acts of Catholic faith, hope, and charity towards God, and oblation of themselves to the divine will in life or death, in conjunction with the holy Sacrifice of the altar and the cross. The litanies for the dying, and the commendation of the departing soul are said in the language of the country, from a golden book, as it may be called, for its learning, elegance, and piety, compiled by one of our fathers at the English College of St Omers, which is in the hands of all the Catholics in this country, and is highly valued by them.[1]

I myself have seen, not once but often, while these prayers were being recited reverently and distinctly, Protestants moved to tears, with a genuine sense of piety and strong commendation of the care and consideration of our priests for the sick and dying. Not a few have been converted to the Faith by a single exercise of this kind, especially when they saw the dying, after tenderly kissing and embracing the crucifix, cheerfully and joyfully surrender up their souls to God, with a great and firm hope of salvation and eternal beatitude. One lady of high rank, who lately died, exhibited this pious confidence in God in a remarkable manner. She was only just over one-and-twenty years of age, of noble birth and graceful form, and had been

[1] This was probably the *Manual of Prayers*, of which several editions were printed at St Omers. In the edition of 1652, the prayers above alluded to occur at pp. 344, etc. Father Patrick Anderson had prepared for press a Scottish edition of this prayer-book, "but whether it was ever printed I cannot ascertain" (G. Oliver, *Collectanea*, S.J., p. 3).

married four years to a nobleman of rank, with whom she lived on the best of terms, and who cut a great figure both in his home and at court. But when she felt that she was drawing near her end, she publicly declared that she was ready to go, and desired nothing so much as to leave the husband she tenderly loved, and all things that perish, and enjoy God. And for many days before she died, there was nothing she cared to hear about from others or would talk about herself, but God and a happy death, and she frequently told those who stood near her, that there was nothing she wished them to obtain of God by prayer but a happy death, and that God's most holy will might in all things be done. She used to say that Protestants and heretics might reasonably be afraid to die, because they were in rebellion against God and the Church, and she urged not a few of those who stood round to make their salvation their first care, by abjuring heresy. She requested nothing from her husband, when dying, but that he would remain constant in faith and piety to God, and that she might be buried with Catholic rites, and carried to the grave with a crucifix upon the coffin. This was carefully done, and besides, he gave large alms to the poor, especially to the Catholics, for the repose of her soul. I could relate many cases similar to this, but they are so much alike in their features that a particular description of each is not necessary. But it may be useful to mention one or two cases of wonderful conversion to the faith, followed by equally wonderful evidences of piety and sanctity of life.

One of our Fathers writes that he received a penitent six months before who was sprung from the most illustrious family in all Scotland, and brought up as a heretic until she was seventeen years of age, when

in consequence of reading some Catholic books, she became so anxious about the truth of religion that she could neither take food nor sleep. One day, tortured by doubt, she withdrew to a room quite at the top of the house, and throwing herself upon her bare knees, uttered these few words aloud: "Lord! who certainly didst not create me to damn me, direct me in the right way!" She had scarcely finished her prayer when the light of Catholic truth shone upon her soul with such power that it immediately dispersed every trace of doubt. She embraced her ancestral faith with generosity and courage truly masculine, paying not the least regard to the reproaches and insults of her parents or her friends. Nor can she recall that ever since that day she has ever felt the least sadness or trouble of mind, not even when great misfortunes befell her family. This lady's fervour, from the time she became a Catholic, has been marvellous. She wears a hair-shirt three days in the week, for twenty-four hours at a time, and will not discontinue this so pious and salutary a custom even when she is travelling. Almost every day she gives herself fifty lashes, until the blood flows. Her whole life is one almost unbroken prayer, and she will often meditate with pleasure for hours together on a few sacred words. Being asked one day to offer all allurements of the senses in sacrifice to God, she said she never felt in herself even the slightest affection for creatures, and had not for many years past. She tenderly embraces the sick, even those afflicted with the most loathsome diseases. A poor infant whose mother could scarcely bear to touch it, or to wash its clothes, she received into her house, laid it in a bed apart, and herself ministered to its wants; her attendants being unable to endure the stench, even

at a distance. She is so profuse in her liberality to the poor that she gives them the best of everything, as if she was serving Christ Himself. By these offices of charity she has brought many over to the true faith, and when converted, carefully instructs and forms them to piety. For the venerable Sacrament she has the most ardent love, and so anxiously desires to receive it that she has all the appearance, at such times, of being violently ill with fever.

Another noble girl, almost equal to the last in her illustrious origin, and like her in her zeal for virtue, has rejected the most advantageous offers of marriage, and is determined to keep her chastity wholly intact. In all her life she has never been guilty of a single venial sin, deliberately committed. The love of God is so sweet to her that she grieves more for the slightest failure or defect than she would for a serious worldly loss, and suffers violent pains in her head from this cause. She also wears a garment of hair certain days in the week for a limited number of hours, such as the weakness of her health will permit, and is accustomed to administer the discipline to herself almost daily.

Another, the daughter of a very wealthy citizen, has lately become a Catholic, though her father threatens he will hang her with his own hands, and her friends load her with reproaches. All this she listens to patiently, and is prepared to endure with unflinching courage, but no one ever dares make the smallest attempt to convince her she is wrong, or draw her away from her faith, so clear is she in argument, and so thoroughly mistress of the controversy in all its aspects. But in this respect, she has very many young comrades of either sex quite equal to herself, scattered in various parts of the country.

To these examples of charity and zeal exhibited by women, I must add one more, certainly no ordinary instance of both. One day there was carried to the gates of a nobleman's mansion a woman afflicted with nine ulcers on her legs and thighs, emitting a pestilential odour, and so horrible to look at that scarcely anyone could bear to see them twice, much less go near her. But the high-born lady of the house, impelled by ardent charity, ran to succour the unhappy woman, soothed her with kind and loving words, and with her own hands cleansed her sores, to the great astonishment of all present; she did so twice daily for two months, until by the application of the proper medicaments, the patient was entirely restored to health. And this was not the only occasion on which this illustrious lady proved her charity towards the sick and afflicted.

I will not describe more examples of the same class, but one thing remains which I cannot altogether pass over in these annals of our history, both as a confirmation of the truth of the Catholic Faith, and a proof that the Divine mercy and providence still favour our unhappy country, even after so many years of apostasy. This is, the almost daily occurrence of miracles, ever since the first introduction of heresy. Some of these wonders are wrought by the priests by the application of sacred objects, and others take place continually in localities consecrated by old tradition to the Blessed Virgin, or one of the Saints.

As regards the priests, it has always been the practice, and the custom still obtains, to bring to them persons possessed or troubled by evil spirits, to be delivered from their influence. Even heretics in such cases have recourse to the priest, for the ministers do

not presume even to attempt anything of the kind. This very year some such have been brought to our Fathers, who immediately set them free. As to the sacred objects used, namely the Agnus Dei and holy water, it is certain that several persons this year, and very large numbers in former years, have by their beneficial effect escaped from evil spirits, and some have been healed of sickness or mental aberration.

Of miracles wrought at sacred places, which are generally chapels or fountains, I will describe one out of many that have occurred.

There is a certain sacred spot consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, on the bank of the river Spey, that is an ancient chapel, known as the Blessed Mary of Grace, to which there is a continual confluence of pilgrims, of all ages and both sexes, and from all parts of the country. This frequentation the ministers have never been able to put a stop to, owing to the daily miracles which notoriously occur there. At last the synod of ministers assembled at Elgin resolved to remove the remains of the chapel, long since ruined to its foundations, that it might be forgotten that such a place had ever existed, and to erect a parish church on the site. They accordingly despatched to the spot a few of their own number to lay out the ground for the new building, and give the place its new name. They came attended by a body of workmen, and were about to proceed to their task with all due diligence, under a serene and cloudless sky. But the first of the band had scarcely reached the little hill on which the shrine is situated when there arose a tempest of wind so violent that they were carried by the force of it down to the plain below, and could not stop themselves or stand still until they took refuge in a house, by which

time they were half dead. But scarcely had they entered the house when its roof was carried away by the storm, and they were in danger of being buried under the ruins. Nor was this the end, for they were violently blown by the wind two miles along the road they had come, as if under the ban of God and the Blessed Virgin. So they abandoned their enterprise and got into the town as quietly as they could, to avoid some greater danger. This incident had a great effect on the minds of the people, heretics and all, and increased their veneration for this sacred spot.

Annual Letter of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for 1664.

There is nothing new to relate regarding the general condition of the Catholic Church in this country, beyond what has been said in our former letters, written since the happy restoration of the King, except that the number of the faithful continues daily to increase. This appears from the letters we receive from all our Fathers, of whom there is not one who has not received many converts into the Church. Of this the ministers are loudly complaining in every part of the kingdom, and they especially lament the conversion, quite recently, of some of the principal citizens among the inhabitants of Dundee, both of the magistracy and of the senate; whereas previously, ever since the establishment of heresy in this country, it had scarcely been possible to find a Catholic in the town. On this account the principal minister of the city, who is considered to hold the first place among his colleagues for eloquence and learning, composed and published a Dialogue between a Papist and a Protestant. In this work he replied to

all the postulates and reasons advanced by the Catholics, or attempted to do so, and added many grave charges against us of superstition, idolatry, breach of good faith, departure from the Scriptures as the one only rule of faith, and many others of the same kind. He hoped by this treatise quickly to recall all our converts to their former heresy, and that others would be cautious about leaving them in future.

But by the good pleasure of God, it turned out all the other way, for the treatise, falling into our hands,[1] produced a sharp reply, its reasoning was successfully refuted, and its calumnies cleverly retorted upon the calumniator, who was trying to entrap mankind into a heresy wherein there is a church without a head, law without a judge, faith without agreement what to believe, new apostles without mission, an apostolate without any of its signs or marks, doctrine without infallibility, a temple without an altar, worship without a sacrifice, ministers without ordination, reformation without authority to reform, sacraments which do not sanctify; and all this was demonstrated, clearly and abundantly, as well from the admissions of our opponents themselves, as from the doctrines they teach, and every point was noted briefly, clearly, and distinctly.

Consequently this reply brought no slight discredit upon the ministers. The converts, whose return they sought, have all been confirmed by it in the Faith, and not a few others have been brought to embrace it.

[1] This controversy is not described in any bibliography accessible to me. From the phrase, "by the good pleasure of God the treatise falling into our hands," etc., one may perhaps conjecture that it was perhaps carried on in manuscript only, as was not unusual in those days. If in print, we may presume that the Jesuit, and perhaps also the minister of Dundee, wrote anonymously, or under a pseudonym, and that they have thus escaped identification.

There is another minister at Aberdeen[1] who rails against us every day with the bitterest reproaches and innumerable falsehoods. This man was invited by a noble lady to meet one of our Fathers in controversy, but absolutely refused to come, although he had boasted in his pulpit that there was nothing he wished for more. When he heard who was to be his opponent, a man of high reputation and an experienced theologian, he was afraid to meet him, and thought it a safer course to bring the matter before what is called the Court of High Commission, in the form of a series of reproaches and expostulations levelled at the priests and the Catholics. It was stated that popery was openly taught in the towns, and that nobles and commons alike showed a strong leaning to it, and it was demanded that the movement should be restrained by public proclamation, and the priests especially severely dealt with. But the fact is that this court, which is made up of a number of bishops and noblemen, has been instituted by the King in this very year, with large powers, for the purpose of compelling the Puritans and Presbyterians, and other sectaries who are classed together as fanatics, to submit to the government of the new bishops. They will find this no easy task, and it will occupy them more than the persecution of Catholics.

[1] This was probably John Menzies, of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Eventually, in April 1666, he accepted the challenge of a disputation with Father Francis Dempster, S.J. But it was not till after that Father was dead that he proceeded in 1668 to print the discussion with the title, *Papismus Lucifugus, etc.* This was answered by *Scolding no Scholarship, or Groundles Grounds of the Protestant Religion, as holden out by Mr Menzies in his brawlings against Mr Dempster. Printed for the author*, 1669, *s.l.*, pp. 298, 12mo. (The author is conjectured to be Father Alexander Conn, *alias* Sinclair.) Menzies answered by *Roma Mendax, in confutation of an anonymous Popish pamphlet undertaking the defence of Mr Dempster, Jesuit.* London, 1675. (Imprimatur dated May 27, 1674.)

So they have only issued a decree addressed to the Town Council of Aberdeen, enjoining them to use greater diligence in searching the dwellings of the Catholics, and declaring that the priests shall be put in prison if any complaint is made of them.

Terrible threats all this time are thundered from the pulpits by the ministers to frighten the people away from us. They find that their excommunication is quite disregarded by us, and very little respected by others, who know that excommunicate persons are no longer, as was the case once, deprived of civil rights, as persons under interdict of fire and water. They therefore announce that a heavy fine is about to be levied upon all persons who are not present in the parish church on any Sunday. And they leave no stone unturned to get this actually passed into law; for they perceive that it is the only possible protection of their faith and religion.

But let us leave them to their dreams. It is pleasanter to contemplate the following instance of Christian constancy on the part of a young girl of noble birth. She was born of parents who held high rank, but were heretics, and herself was brought up as a heretic until she was about fifteen years of age. Then by intercourse with her father's sister, a woman of singular piety, she was brought gradually to the Catholic faith, and, under her instruction, gave herself up so entirely to prayer, fasting, and the reading of pious books, that such zeal and devotion could not long be concealed from her parents and the other inmates of the house. The serving maids noticed that she spent whole nights in prayer and without sleep, that she abstained from eating flesh on certain days, and was more abstemious in food and drink than is usual in a

girl of her age. Her father happened to be away, and her mother was ill. When he returned home, he had family prayers in the hall before supper, as was his custom, at which his daughter declined to be present. She equally refused her presence at the heretic worship in the church, and confessed herself a Catholic. Her father, a man of austere temper, though otherwise very fond of his child, flew into a rage, and had her dragged by force into the hall, where he chastised her severely with a whip, until her mother interfering and trying to save her, received a blow on her outstretched arm, which raised a weal that lasted many days. Then he ceased for a time, but the warfare broke out in an aggravated form the next Sunday, when she was called upon to accompany her parents to church. First, her mother tried the effect of gentle words and fair promises if she complied, but all in vain. Then her father stormed at her, flogged her cruelly, and ordered her to be bound and carried to the church. The household looked on appalled at this ferocity, and her brother, at their suggestion, endeavoured to plead her cause, but was not listened to. At last the girl herself, having borne her flogging and the tying of her hands with perfect patience, addressed her father gravely and modestly. "Do not insist, my father, upon dragging me against my will to the temple of the heretics, unless you want me to make public profession of the Catholic faith in presence of the ministers and the assembled parish, and a public abjuration of heresy, which I solemnly declare I will do."

Her father, upon this, desisted from the attempt, fearing the shame it would bring upon himself and the scandal it would occasion others, but he locked up his daughter in a secret chamber, where, being left to her

own meditations, she derived from them strength and courage to meet the still greater trouble in store for her. The struggle went on for two whole years, during which time she was not allowed to take her meals with her family, was excluded from all Catholic society, and not permitted to read Catholic books, except a little collection of meditations and prayers on loose sheets which one of our Fathers managed to get conveyed to her secretly, and which she carefully concealed in the plaits of her hair or in her shoes, lest they should reach the hands of her parents, or of someone in the house. But she had no place, not even a corner to say her prayers in, except by rising from her bed at night when everybody else was asleep, which she did constantly and even in the depth of winter for some hours at a time, or else in the garden while taking the air. There a remarkable thing happened to her, for it rained heavily, but all the time she was at her prayers, not a drop fell upon her, though the maid who was sent out to fetch her was wet through.

Nor was this the only instance of God's miraculous care which she experienced. One day she was writing a letter to one of our missionaries, when her father suddenly entered her chamber. In her hurry, she concealed the inkstand in her bosom, and the ink was all spilled, but did not stain her garments or the linen she wore, nor leave anywhere a speck or spot. On fast-days, and during Lent, all fasting diet being refused her, she lived entirely on oatmeal mixed with water, but this occasioned no change, either in her bodily health or in the beauty of her form and countenance. By degrees her good fame and exalted virtues were talked of far and wide and attracted a host of suitors for her hand; among them a young man,

belonging to one of the highest Catholic families, and the son of an earl, fell in love with her, and to him she was married, dowered principally by her virtues. Even her parents were conquered at last by her heroic constancy and endurance of suffering. They had had a latent affection for her before, but now came to love her more than their other children, and ended by giving her a larger portion of their goods.

Two other young ladies, daughters of the principal baron in this country, had lost their Catholic mother by death, and their father, who was favourably inclined towards the Catholics, did not long survive her. On his death, the girls were removed to the house of a heretic uncle, but persevered in their faith notwithstanding. The uncle was determined that no priest should visit his nieces, to encourage them with his words, and refresh them with the Sacraments, and announced that the first man of this description who came to visit his nieces would be promptly arrested, and put in prison. One of our Fathers, undeterred by these threats, went boldly to the house, fearing there was some risk of the girls incurring the guilt of apostasy, and having exhorted them to constancy and piety, gave them the Sacraments. The uncle was in a rage, but his fear of the divine vengeance, and of the penalty which has so often overtaken those who laid violent hands upon priests, hindered him from using violence. On the contrary, he sent an apology to the Father shortly afterwards, through the instrumentality of some of his friends, for his incivility, and the threats he had uttered, which he excused by saying he was afraid of disobeying the King, and of giving grave offence to the bishop, who was then in the immediate neighbourhood. No threats or perils ever have the

least effect upon our Fathers in this Mission, in deterring them from providing for the safety and salvation of the Catholics, when the necessity of doing so has arisen. Not once, but often, they have gone to the prisons to bring succour to those detained there, though they were in imminent danger of being detained there themselves on a charge of treason, which is liable to be brought against them on the slightest suspicion.

There is one of our Fathers who has been many years on the Mission, and is so advanced in age as to be almost incapable of moving about, but when he heard of the conversion of one of the principal noblemen of the kingdom, a man of very great note, his zeal prompted him to set out and pay him a visit, to confirm him in his faith. Weak as he was, he did not allow the difficulties of the journey to retard him, and coming to an extremely rapid river, swollen by the rains, he tried to cross it on horseback, but fell from his horse, and was severely injured. He was dragged out of the water, however, in time to prevent his being drowned.

Another of our Fathers incurred a swelling of the jaws and throat, accompanied with symptoms of fever, by laboriously travelling about in rainy and tempestuous weather. For three or four days he was scarcely able to sleep or to take any food, but he said Mass daily, that his numerous flock might be fed with the bread of heaven. One night he received a call to visit a sick man who was lying dangerously ill some five or six miles off. He rose at once, and though he could scarcely stand on his feet, mounted a horse, and made his way to the sick man's abode, over rough hills, a violent north wind blowing all the way, and driving the hail right in his face. On entering the house, he found himself all at once restored to health, and the Sacraments of the

Church having been duly administered to the patient, he too began to get better. The man's wife was converted to the Faith by this miracle, and many others recognised in the unexpected recovery of them both, the manifest help of God.

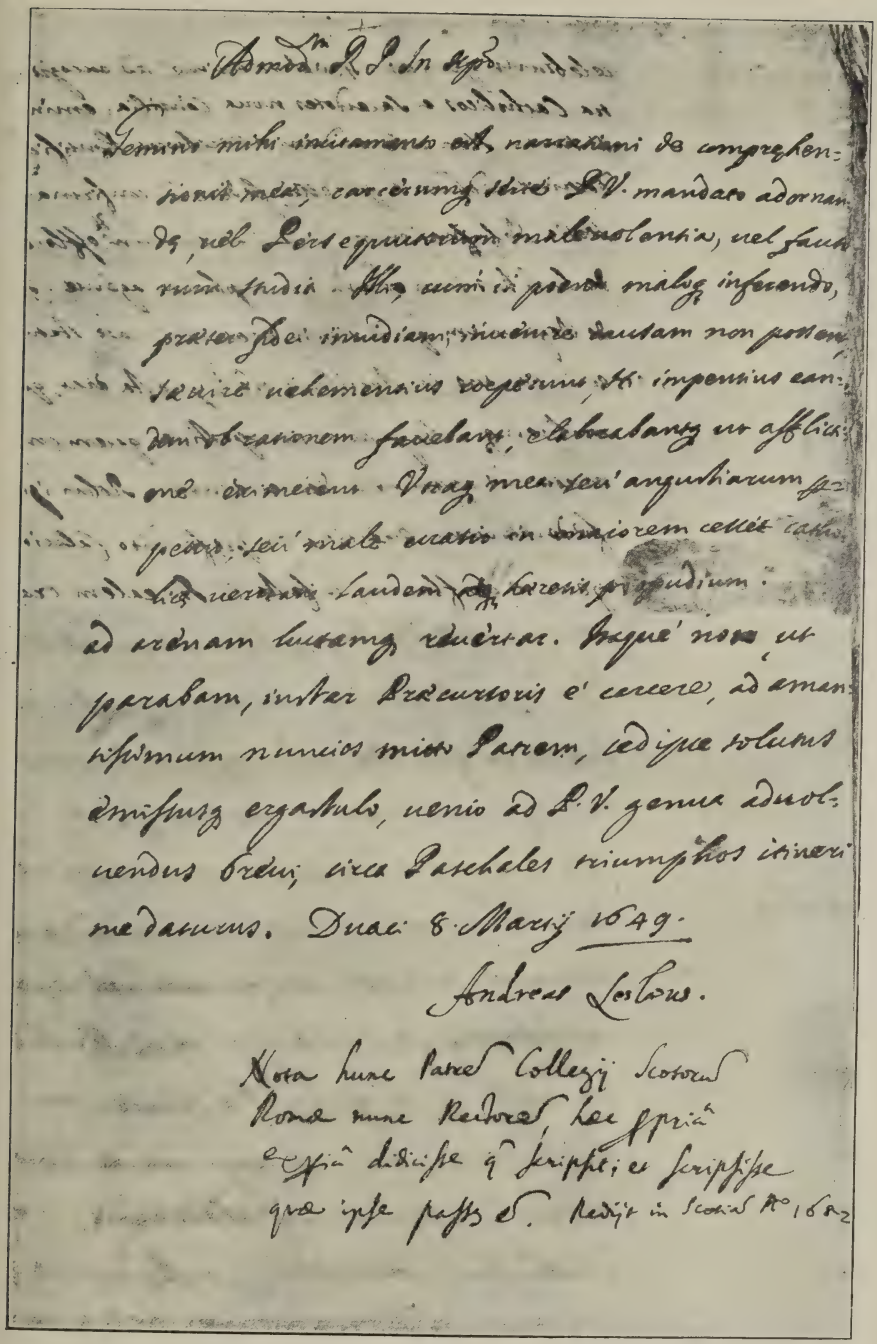
Nothing more encourages the Catholics to adhere firmly to their faith in these somewhat difficult times, or acts as a more powerful inducement to heretics to join their communion, than the Christian fortitude and zeal displayed by the priests, always ready to come to the assistance of everyone, at any risk or danger to themselves. None of our priests have abandoned the towns or localities where the severer judgments of the Court of High Commission against us have been published, lest, the shepherd fleeing, the flock should be dispersed, or lest the leaders whose place it is to lead on the soldiers by their example, should, on the contrary, discourage them. And the Catholics have everywhere boldly followed and imitated them, nor has there been one man among them this year who has been frightened, either by the edicts of the court or the threats of the ministers, into wavering for one moment in his faith. And a great number of others who professed heresy only from fear, or rather, pretended to profess it, have thrown off the mask, and made open declaration of the Catholic Faith. Nothing keeps back the others, who have long been wavering, from the open confession of their religion, except the want of priests to instruct them, and the insufficiency of our numbers. Great multitudes of people feel drawn towards us by the example of the Catholics, in whom alone, among so many conflicting sects, they find constancy in their faith, truth in their words, integrity of life and conversation. There is no one to be found

who does not talk of the Catholics, the firmness of their faith in God, their charity to their neighbours, their piety and other virtues, in terms of praise and affection. Especially is this estimate true in regard to some Catholics of high rank and position, who engage regularly in prayer and meditation, and frequent the Sacraments with great assiduity, and still greater preparation of heart and piety, hear Mass daily, if there is a priest near at hand, or if he is absent, retire to their chambers at the hour the Sacrifice is offered, and there, as if present at the Mystery, refresh themselves, in heart, with a spiritual communion. The sick and the poor are their special care. They make a study of promoting kindly feeling among neighbours, and reconciling quarrels, and while they seem to regard all others with the tenderest affection, are cruel only to themselves, mortifying themselves with fasting, the hair shirt, the scourge, with harshness that is truly admirable, but seems almost excessive. I could name several men and women of very high rank who do all this. It generally results from the study of the Spiritual Exercises, to which they devote some time every year. One who is eminent in this practice is a great lady, wife of a most illustrious earl, who is herself in the feeblest health, and afflicted by very painful disorders. She is unwearied in administering medicines to the sick with her own hand, and when these fail in their effect, she uses holy water, and the sign of the cross, and by the use of these symbols has restored many to their former health and serenity of mind in an incredibly short space of time, no matter by what maladies they were afflicted, or by what malignant influence they were bewitched. But I know not whether the power this lady exercises in healing

diseases is more wonderful and admirable than the patience, even unto death, exhibited by one whose name will never be forgotten in the history of this country.

He was of the illustrious house of Gordon, by name the Laird of Cairnburrow [*Carinburgi dominus*],[1] and long endured the most excruciating torment, as if a fire was burning up his body. He had been a Catholic all his life, and had often suffered exile, imprisonment, and the devastation of his lands, for the cause he served, and for some years past the loss of nearly all his revenue, and this not only with patience, but cheerfully and joyfully. For two months and more, he was afflicted by an inflammation of his right hand and arm, so violent that another person could scarcely bear to touch the suffering parts even with a finger, they were so intensely hot. But he bore it with such patience that he was never once heard to complain, even when the inflamed arm burned and raged so fiercely as scarcely to leave him in possession of his senses. Afraid lest the violence of the pain should betray him into some intemperate language, since he was but human, he kept his eldest daughter always with him, to check him, that if ever, as he said, forgetful of God and his sins, he gave way to the slightest expression of impatience, he might immediately wash out his fault with abundant tears and bitter reparation. Often he would say, while regarding the image of the Crucified with his eyes and heart; "Behold the Man of Sorrows, with His crown of thorns and His lacerated body! I suffer less than He did, and certainly far less than my sins

[1] The Gordons of Cairnburrow and Park, in the parish of Glassmairtine, were Cadets of Lesmoir. T. M. Bulloch, *The House of Gordon*, i., p. 502.



THE FIRST AND THE LAST LINES OF Fr. LESLIE'S MEMOIR.

deserve. Ah, if I were permitted to bear still greater and bitterer suffering with Christ my Lord in His passion, and the holy martyrs!" Then, raising his withered hand, he would say, "You are suffering as you deserve, my hand, and by the just judgment of God, which one day, as I too well remember, raised to my lips the cup from which I drank to intoxication, and thus sinned most wickedly against God." This man of most tender conscience and most innocent life recalled that once in his life he had been drunk in a jovial company, and I doubt whether his conscience could reproach him with any graver sin. This I am sure of, if after so many cares and troubles borne for God's sake, he paid for that one crime by such an extremity of suffering, many others have good cause to fear death, or what follows death, who have sinned much more deeply, and endured much lighter sufferings with much less heroic patience. But this is characteristic of all the saints, that they think little or nothing of all they have done and suffered for God, but feel the keenest self-reproach, and consider that they can never be sufficiently punished, for every sin they have committed against His supreme Majesty.

He made a holy end, and provided in his will that he was not to be carried, when dead, into any temple profaned by heretical worship, having during his lifetime always detested heresy with all his heart. He was buried in a very ancient ruined chapel, sacred to St Peter, Prince of the Apostles. I have often seen this man, when he was turned out of his own house, and lived with his wife and family in what was little better than a cabin, scarcely fit to keep out rain and snow, not only bearing his wrongs quietly and peacefully, but exulting, with glad looks and cheery voice,

at his adverse fortune. When summoned before the courts for his Catholic religion and faith, which happened to him frequently during his life, the more terrible were the penalties with which he was threatened by the judges, the more generously he defied the worst they could do, and called them too soft and indulgent for the cause he professed; a cause in which it was his one hope and prayer to be permitted to suffer the worst, and to the end. All men, the heretics not excepted, spoke of him as a saint among his people, and the most faultless of men. He was, besides, an extremely clever man, and well versed in literature, and so given to prayer that he spent many hours every day in this exercise. But he was remarkable above all for his absolute contempt of wealth and worldly goods, and for his consistent piety and virtue. These are undoubtedly characteristics of true sanctity.

After many struggles for the Faith, which made her life a martyrdom, there has passed away this year, 1665,[1] the illustrious maiden, Mary Douglas, daughter of the Marquis, and sister of the Duke of Hamilton; all the more worthy of memory because, since her return from France to Scotland, she has been the ornament of the Catholic religion by the integrity of her life and the fervour of her faith. Compelled to live in the house of her Protestant brother, in whose

[1] Mary Douglas was the sixteenth and youngest daughter of William, eleventh Earl of Angus, and first Marquis of Douglas; and she was also full sister to William, afterwards created third Duke of Hamilton. According to *Douglas's Peerage* (ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, i., p. 206), she "died unmarried before 1669." It is most probable that she was the same daughter who is mentioned in Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, 1859, vol. ii., pp. 190-194, as having been "sent away into France to be bred in Popery," before 9th May 1650, and who is alluded to by Father Gall (Paris, 8th July 1650) in the words, "a daughter of the Marquis of Douglas is expected to arrive here."

charge she was left, it was extremely difficult for a priest to get speech with her. But one of our Fathers wrote to her to console her, and later, to satisfy her ardent piety and disregarding the danger he ran, obtained access to her presence in the following way. The palace is surrounded by a garden of great beauty and extent, and the Father obtained admission, pretending to be a traveller attracted by its fame. There at a place and time appointed, he met the lady and her maid of honour, and having confessed the lady, at her request, proceeded to discharge the same office for her companion, and under cover of a shady grove gave them the body of the Lord, and having spoken some words to encourage them to fortitude and patience, took his leave. A rumour was spread that a priest had entered the garden, but another interview was arranged within the palace itself. In the month of August this year, when nothing was less expected, for she was in the prime of youth and strength, she was taken with a malignant fever, which shortly proved mortal. The day before she died the Father fearlessly went to her chamber, being summoned by a serving-man whom one of her relatives had sent to inform him of her danger. It happened by the will of God that there was no one present except the Catholic serving-maid, so he administered the last Sacraments, and got safely away. God aids those who are brave in His Cause. The dying girl desired that her absent brother should be informed that she died a Catholic, and repeating the sacred names of Jesus and Mary, sent her spirit forth on its rapid journey to heaven. During her life she practised austerities which exceeded her strength, but allowance must be made for a generous girl who seldom had any adviser at hand to direct her.

CHAPTER IV

PERSECUTION RENEWED, 1670-1679

Introductory Note

While divisions in the Cabinet, vacillations in the King's measures, and Parliamentary contests, occupied the last years of Charles II.'s reign, the nation was roused by the pretended discovery of the Popish plot for the assassination of the King, and the introduction of the Catholic Religion. The Duke of York, who had become a Catholic, was constrained to retire to Brussels (1679), and a bill for his exclusion from the throne passed the House of Commons.

From 27th May 1661 to February 1678, a most bitter strife raged between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians, and about 18,000 were killed. But the Catholics had at first enjoyed peace, and numbers had flocked into the Church from all parts of the country, when, suddenly, the Privy Council in 1670 ordered that all the penal laws against the Catholics should at once be put into execution. Not a single Catholic was cast down by this, many of them were roused to renewed fervour (p. 118). Many were opposed to this new decree of persecution, but it was favoured by those who complained of the spread of the faith (p. 119).

Thomas Gordon, of the noble family of Huntly, died this year (1670). He was all his life in many persecutions and had been repeatedly imprisoned. The death of Sir Gilbert Menzies occurred about the same time (p. 124).

During the following year (1671), it was complained that the pest of Popery was spreading over the country in all directions. Ministers and delegates were sent to the Privy Council to demand fresh laws against Catholics (p. 125). They were told that laws in plenty existed: there was no need for any new enactment, except that perhaps it might be well that all Catholics should be summoned

to the courts on the 5th of November, and if convicted on testimony, punished according to the gravity of the offence.

Meanwhile, many persons had been deterred from embracing the Catholic faith, by fear of the perpetual brawling which went on against Catholics, and the assembling of noisy crowds of protesters (p. 126). This is the reason why so few this year have returned to the Catholic faith (p. 127).

In the month of April 1675, died Father Alexander Leith (p. 128). Although the Parliament passed no law against the Catholics, an order of the Privy Council was, nevertheless, issued shortly after, requiring the sons of Catholic noblemen to be given up to the bishops to be educated in their religion, and some of them were actually taken away from their parents (p. 131). The Countess of Traquair fought for her son with undaunted courage (p. 132). The grace of God armed some youths with such generous constancy, that no promises or threats could induce them to attend the sermons of the Calvinists (p. 132). Lord Semple, for refusing to send his son to be educated by Protestants, was committed to prison (p. 134).

A letter of the 3rd May 1679 describes the uproar occasioned by the inflammatory lies of Titus Oates (p. 137).

Annual Letter of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for 1670.

In the course of the present year, while the Catholics of Scotland were in the enjoyment of profound peace in regard to public and private affairs, and numbers were flocking into the Church from all parts of the country, a very severe order was all at once promulgated by the Privy Council, enjoining that all the penal laws against the Catholics, beginning from the days of King James the Sixth of Scotland and First of Great Britain, should at once be put in execution. This decree had long been desired by the Puritans, whose hatred towards us is undiminished, and a very trifling circumstance occasioned its publication.

Certain witches[1] had been condemned to be burnt at Aberdeen, and the execution being in progress, a young Catholic nobleman who formed one of the crowd who assembled to witness it, neglected to remove his hat, and, though requested to do so by the Calvinist ministers, refused to comply. This act was denounced as a mark of public contempt for the Protestant religion on the part of all the Catholics in the kingdom. On this ground was passed the decree against all Catholics, in spite of the remonstrance of several members of the Council. This appeared to most people very unjust, but the fact is that not a single Catholic in Scotland is at all cast down by it, and not one has deserted his faith in consequence. On the contrary, many of them are more cheerful and hopeful than ever, and having before been rather languid and cold, have been roused to renewed fervour, fearing not at all the rigour of the law. There has been no other result so far. God, we imagine, is trying the hearts and courage of His faithful children, and preparing them by this slight skirmish for graver conflicts which may be yet to come. There are, it is true, some who endeavour to fan the flame of this recently kindled fire, already beginning to

[1] A series of trials for the supposed crime of witchcraft took place in Aberdeen during the years 1576-7. Troops of witches were burnt at St Andrews and Dundee. Hume in his valuable comments on the punishment of crimes says that "no fewer than fourteen commissions for trial of witches were granted by the Lords of the Privy Council in *one* sederunt of the 7th of November 1661. Those Commissioners had ample powers. Their commissions were given for the trial of so many persons *nominatim*, and a large blank was commonly left where were inserted the names of such other persons as might be "delaited" or accused during their sittings. Matters were no better in England, where the most shocking atrocities were perpetrated during the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., and also in Oliver Cromwell's time. *Cf.* Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii., pp. 597, 603; *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, 1841; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 142, 146; Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen*, i., p. 169.

subside, and complain bitterly of the spread of the Faith, and the great number of converts, and especially that milder measures are adopted against the Catholics, the ancient and determined enemies of the Protestant cause, than against the Puritans, who only dissent, not from their religion, but on some obscure and unimportant questions of Church discipline, which, however, the Puritans do not admit to be unimportant. Such indeed is the complaint of the Puritans and of those members of the Royal Council who privately favour their views. For when it was ordained by Royal Decree and Act of Parliament that the bishops who had been turned out of their sees, like the King himself, by the arms of the rebels, should be restored, and successors appointed to those who had died in the interval, these Puritans took it very unkindly indeed. They absolutely refused to recognise the bishops, or listen to the preaching of any of the ministers who did. They began to hold private assemblies in their houses, and later held them in public, and with larger attendance, and at last, receiving no check to their proceedings, actually took up arms against the Government.

Beaten in the field, they attempted to assassinate the Primate of Scotland, the Archbishop of St Andrews, with a pistol shot, in the royal city of Edinburgh, and the Bishop of Caithness was badly wounded. It was this rash and insane rebellion, not their religion, which compelled the King and the Parliament to take severe measures to check them, but the men in power, who were inclined to favour the Puritans, urged that such measures ought first to be directed against the Catholics. This, unjust as it is, they are continually urging still. For the Catholics all took the side of the King in the late war, and are now living peaceably in

the country; whereas the Puritans provoked the war, and openly proclaim themselves rebels now. But the lot and condition of Catholics, living in the midst of heretics, is the same as that of the early Christians among the pagans. The fault of the guilty is calumniously laid upon the innocent, and every man's crime is visited upon our heads. However fiercely the heretics may quarrel among themselves, they are all thoroughly in agreement when it is a question of assailing the Catholics. This is an illustrious and conspicuous mark of the true religion, that all false religions hate and oppose it, however discordant among themselves.

There were ten of us in all engaged on this Mission, until the month of June, when two more Fathers came, most opportunely, to our aid. One of these is familiar with the Erse language, used by the mountaineers of Scotland, and he is labouring with great success among them, having already made many converts even in so brief a space of time. He is a man full of pious zeal, perfectly humble-minded, and unwearied in labour; qualities most efficacious in conciliating the hearts and minds of men, and as far as possible removed from hypocrisy, and any empty and fallacious appearance of piety. The labours of the rest, in many varieties of apostolic cares and exercises, have been great and unceasing, and the older among them seem to remit nothing of the activity and energy of their earlier years. They daily assemble the inmates of the houses where they reside, and the neighbours, to the regular duties of devotion, preach, deliver catechetical instruction, administer the Sacraments, aid the sick and dying, and labour in strengthening Catholics in the faith and in the conversion of heretics. And this so successfully, by God's grace, that one of them in the west of

Scotland, where he lives surrounded by heretics, has reconciled some two hundred to the Church. Every one among them can count very numerous converts. Some of them have exhibited extraordinary courage and zeal in winning souls. Called to the dying in the middle of a winter's night, they have gone to them at once, through the deep snow, and by the sides of steep mountains, given them holy counsel, and fortified them with the Sacraments of the Church. Others have found their way into the prisons to the assistance of convicts awaiting execution, not without imminent danger of being detained as prisoners themselves.

Two men have died this year, illustrious for the fame of their virtues. Thomas Gordon, of the noble family of Huntly, was all his life long in the midst of many persecutions, and had been repeatedly imprisoned. So constant was he in faith and piety, so assiduous in prayer to God, so careful to bring up his children as good Catholics, so compassionate and liberal to the poor, so kindly to all men, that Protestants themselves always spoke of him as a most holy and upright man. I was intimately acquainted with him, and I never knew any other man who bore so patiently and equably the loss of his property, often repeated, and on a large scale, for the sake of his religion, or who was a more consistent and regular follower of virtue and piety. Often when he was imprisoned, fined, or compelled to go into exile, and his friends advised him to yield to the exigencies of the times, he would say with a smile, "Is it Time we should consider or Eternity?" When they told him he ought to be careful of his money because he had such a numerous family of children, he answered gently, that he had much rather be careful of the grace and glory of God, and of the treasures of

heaven, which are far better than the perishing goods of earth. Even his wife, herself a Catholic, would sometimes complain that he was rather too liberal to the poor. (In fact, he never kept any money in his own possession, except for their use, and generally gave it away secretly and furtively, leaving all the rest to the care of his lady.) But he would reply, "My dear, how much more profuse and liberal has God been to us!" God certainly accepted as lent to Himself all that he distributed to the poor, or lost for his religion, for he was able to provide handsomely for seven sons and one daughter during his lifetime, and still more amply at his death, and in the houses of his eight children, he left eight Catholic families, to represent him when he was gone.

The other gentleman I referred to was very unlike the last for a great part of his life, but latterly was almost his equal in religion and piety.

He was a baronet, Sir Gilbert Menzies,[1] who, though educated as a Protestant, married a Catholic wife; a daughter of the Earl of Sutherland,[2] whom he was

[1] Sir Gilbert Menzies, Baron of Pitfodels, sat in the Parliament of Charles I. held at Edinburgh on the 15th of August 1643, and also in 1648 as a Commissioner for Aberdeenshire.

He and the whole of his branch of the clan Menzies were devoted Royalists in the wars of King Charles I. He led the Aberdeen Menzies in all the battles of Montrose.

His son, Chieftain Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels, as representing Kincardineshire, sat in the Parliament of Charles II. 10th July 1678 and 13th May 1685.

William Menzies of Pitfodels joined Mar's army in 1715. He and other members of the family suffered much through the changes to which the Royal Stuarts were subjected, but clung to their cause with unswerving fidelity, notwithstanding the loss of lands and fortune. They were again and again driven out of their native land and obliged to seek shelter in France, Russia, Spain, and other places, but returned when the Royal Standard was again unfurled, to support it.—*The Book of Menzies*, p. 322.

[2] Anne, second daughter of John Gordon, twelfth Earl of Sutherland,

always trying to persuade to change her religion, and treated very badly. The lady, of noble character and strong religious faith, bore it all with admirable fortitude. One day she gave her husband a controversial book to read, which she had received from one of our Fathers. Twice he threw it aside, but at length, trusting in his own power to answer any arguments of the Papists, who could have nothing worth saying for themselves, he took the book up at odd times, and was gradually much impressed by many things it contained. So he read it again with greater attention, and much of its argument remained deeply fixed in his mind. Then he went to the ministers, and asked them to reply to some of the reasons and objections advanced by the Catholics. This they undertook to do at once, and did as far as they were able, but being a man of clear head and good sense, he perceived directly that there was nothing solid or well grounded in the replies they gave him. He made up his mind at once, and took his leave of them with these words, "What a miserable and lazy lot of fools we must have been, to have let ourselves be deluded by such men as you!" He went straight home, and asked his wife to send for one of the Jesuit priests. This she was only too glad to do, and the Father[1] promptly arriving, the baronet threw himself on his knees before him, and asked as a grace to be admitted to the bosom of the Catholic

was married December 1623 to Sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels, in the county of Aberdeen, and had issue, Gilbert, George, Margaret and Jean. "She perished at sea on the coast of Holland, on her passage to France, to enjoy there the free exercise of her religion. She was generally lamented, being for beauty, judgment, discretion and singular piety. Three daughters of the Earl of Angus, and two sons of the Earl of Wintoun were lost with her." Douglas-Wood, *Peerage of Scotland*, ii., 581, following; Sir R. Gordon of Gordonstoun, *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 542.

[1] Father John Smith.

Church. The good Father raised him, tenderly embraced him, and having given him some further instructions, did as he was desired. From that time forward, he led a truly religious life, partly abroad in France, partly living in peace at home. Originally of fierce disposition, and greatly addicted to pleasure, he now made his house a temple for the Catholics, a place of refuge and a hospital for the sick and poor. He heard Mass every day, frequently approached the Sacraments, and habitually gave away large sums of money in alms, and his charity extended not to the living only, but to the dead, for whom, as many as he knew the names of, he prayed daily and earnestly, and offered in satisfaction for their sins his own sufferings, which were very great, for he was grievously afflicted with stone. But his zeal was so overpowering that when he conversed with Catholics on sacred subjects, or argued with Protestants about the Catholic religion, no one would have supposed that he was a sufferer from so painful a malady, and had laboured under it so long. He was, to summarize, as long as he lived, the glory of the knightly order, the friend of Catholics, the terror of heretics, the father of the poor, and so acceptable to all, both high and low, that the former recognised him as a leader among them, and the latter as a parent and protector. At length he began to grow old, but was spared for several years more, and at this time, as he often thought of death, he began frequently to talk of it, and prepared for it diligently by a general confession, more than once repeated, and by many fervent acts of virtue. He left a considerable sum at his death for the support of the Catholic poor. He was buried, at his desire, not in the principal church of Aberdeen, though he had a family vault there, because he thought

the building was profaned by the heretic worship, but near an ancient chapel dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and now in ruins.

Annual Letter of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for 1671.

Many and grave complaints against Catholics have been current this year in Scotland. There is an outcry that the pest of Popery, as they style it, is spreading over the country in all directions, that public religious assemblies are held in the private houses of noblemen, that in some parishes much larger numbers of the people go to hear the priest say Mass and preach, than attend the devotions of the minister, that the priests everywhere baptize many of the children, and frequently officiate at marriages. Letters from the ministers in the south and west have been sent to the Privy Council filled with allegations of this sort, while in the north the Bishop of Moray despatched his delegates to lay these grievances publicly before Parliament, as a charge against the Catholics. In consequence of this, many Catholics had to go to Edinburgh, and appear before the High Court of Justice.

But the ministers, after all, had nothing new to say, and only repeated the old song they had sung so often before, and when they fiercely demanded fresh laws against the Catholics, they were wisely answered by the Chancellor and the House of Lords, that laws in plenty already existed against the Catholics. Their assembling for the exercise of their religion was forbidden; laymen were liable to be fined if they attended their meetings, to be put to death if they

heard Mass; priests, and Jesuits especially, were liable to be imprisoned or compelled to quit the country. There was no need for any new enactment, except that perhaps it might be well that all Catholics should be summoned to the courts on the 5th of November, and if convicted on testimony, punished according to the gravity of their offence.

To this the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Primate of the kingdom, and the Lord Advocate, replied at great length, that it is impossible to obtain the evidence of witnesses in these cases, because no one is ever present at the assemblies of Catholics except Catholics, who would be *participes criminis*. It would answer better to require every Catholic separately to say on oath whether he had attended Mass or not, or had received a priest into his house. But such a mode of proving a capital charge—both these things are capital charges in this country—is wholly unheard of, and foreign to the customs of Scotland, and we hope may remain so. They may exchange the capital penalty for one of fine or imprisonment, but that in itself would be a move in our favour.

How the question will be settled remains to be seen, but it has been attended with this disadvantage up to the present time, that many persons have been deterred from embracing the Catholic faith by fear of the perpetual brawling and quarrelling which goes on against the Catholics, and the assembling of noisy crowds of protesters. They are sufficiently instructed, but too lazy and cowardly to declare themselves, preferring to wait for more peaceful times to make public profession of the truth, of which they are, nevertheless, entirely convinced.

This is the only reason, so far as I know, why so

few this year have returned to the ancient and Catholic faith. The letters of our associates report to me no more than two hundred conversions, or very few more. And yet our Fathers have been unsparing in their labours, especially in the Highlands, and more particularly in places where the Catholic religion had scarcely been heard of before, since the first introduction of heresy, and into which one of our Fathers has for the first time penetrated, as if laying the foundation of a new Church, in the hope of rich fruit and abundant conversions.

Annual Letter of the Scottish Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus for the year 1675.

During the present year, in the month of April, one of the twelve Fathers engaged in the work of ministering to Catholics, and converting heretics to the faith in this kingdom, viz., Father Alexander Leith, has been removed by death. For some years he worked on the mission, as a secular priest, with great edification and zeal for souls. Afterwards he sought long and earnestly, and with much humility, for admission into our Society, and was sent at length to Bordeaux for his novitiate. Here he gave such splendid proofs of humility and piety, that in a very short time, they decided to send him back to the Mission as soon as possible. He was received on arrival with general rejoicing by the Catholics, especially by the common people and the poor, whose hearts he had won by his lowliness and simplicity, for he lived by choice principally among them, and went to the house of a great man only rarely, and when specially invited. He conversed with the poor with perfect familiarity,

humility, and great affection, often visiting them in their homes, exhorting them very gently, instructing them diligently, especially the more ignorant and the children, to whom he used to teach the Catechism and short forms of prayer, and tell them stories, which such people like best, because they are easily remembered; and in these exercises he was unwearied. When he was in the houses of poor people, he never would allow anything to be set before him, except what they were accustomed to take themselves. Whatever money he had he immediately gave away to them, with so liberal a heart and hand that very often he had not a farthing left for himself. He wore the dress of the peasantry, of the cheapest and commonest kind; and when he travelled on horseback (which he was sometimes obliged to do, in order more frequently and expeditiously to get to visit families who lived long distances apart), he always made his servant, whom he treated in every respect exactly as an equal, ride and tie with him; on pretence that he could pray more conveniently on foot, but in reality for mortification of himself, and to relieve the weariness of the other. He was not only lowly in his dress, but so abstemious in his diet that a nobleman once complained to me that the Father would not drink anything at his table but small beer, nor take any food until something commoner than usual was brought him. He never allowed himself a bed or mattress, and macerated his body with a rough hair shirt. His countenance was always joyful and pleasant, though his care and solicitude for souls deeply and continually affected his feelings.

This sensitiveness was, indeed, the cause of his death. After protracted labours in aiding Catholics and converting heretics, he entered a noble Catholic

household, for the purpose of arranging a disagreement between the brothers and their father. But he could not bear their perpetual strife and wrangling, and fell sick, and a violent fever coming on, he was soon delirious. In the ravings of delirium he never uttered a word that was not pious and worthy of a man of religion; and when one of our Fathers, who was not far off, was summoned, and came at once to his side, and heard him talking of God, of the Blessed Virgin, and St Joseph, to the great edification of the bystanders, and said, "Go on, my Father, think of God, call upon God, commend yourself to Him devoutly, speak of Him and His blessed Mother, so as to edify those who stand round you," he answered, "I do so willingly, remembering what you once wrote to me, 'Let us be angels to others, not devils.' These, I think, were your words." Then he recovered his senses, and soon afterwards confessed his sins in confession to the same Father, and devoutly received the sacred viaticum. A day or two afterwards he died piously, his loss being much regretted on account of his zeal for souls, the sweetness of his manners, and his extraordinary charity towards everyone, which urged countless numbers to Christian piety, and brought very many from heresy.

After his death, the only Father who remained in that province was overwhelmed with such great and continual labours that he was himself, in a short time, nearly giving way under the burden, more particularly from a long-continued pain in the chest, which was aggravated by his daily exhortations to Catholics, and controversies and disputations with heretics, until another was sent by the Superior to his assistance, with whose help the Catholics scattered over the whole

neighbourhood were strengthened in the faith, and many heretics also brought back to the Church.

In the Parliament which met at the end of last year, and sat until the beginning of the present one, many laws were enacted against the conventicles of the Puritans or Presbyterians, who refuse submission to the bishops. Our Father accordingly thought it well to act with caution, lest the meetings of the Catholics, if they should become too frequent, might be prohibited altogether. A proposal was, indeed, made in Parliament for the suppression of the Catholics, but it happened opportunely by divine help, that before any law on the subject was passed, the Parliament split into two powerful factions, and the Duke of Lauderdale, the King's secretary and personal representative in political matters, finding the Duke of Hamilton and the greater part of the nobles opposed to him, as well as the representatives of the counties and boroughs, quickly dissolved the Assembly.

During this party conflict, a Catholic nobleman, of the Duke of Hamilton's party, having spoken against his opponents with some vehemence and bitterness, was threatened by the Duke of Lauderdale with being removed from his place in Parliament as a papist, unless he conducted himself with greater moderation. This nobleman had been brought up a Catholic, and suffered much annoyance for his faith, with great constancy; but being excessively irritated, with no means of redress, and carried away by an impulse of passion, he decided that he would prefer attending the heretic places of worship, and pretending to be a heretic, rather than give up his revenge, or yield to his opponent; a strange result of unbridled anger and unworthy longing for vengeance. However, he said

nothing about it in public, and most happily, one of our Fathers, with whom he was intimately acquainted, was able to persuade him to abandon his rash and wicked and irreligious scheme of vengeance. He first spoke to him very gently, and having gradually calmed down his excitement with tender expressions and friendly language, pleasantly asked him this question; How he regarded the political friends with whom he was acting, and for whom he was making such sacrifices? He said he regarded them very highly indeed. "But," replied the Father, "God is the chief of all your friends; give Him the first place, my most dear Lord, and all will be well." "You are right, Father," he said, "but I was so angry that the thought hardly occurred to me; I thought of nothing but revenge, and the certainty of the victory I should obtain over my opponent, unless he succeeded in depriving me of my place in Parliament under pretext of my religion." "Even if you hate your enemy," the Father answered, "it is not wise to stab yourself to kill him; or, in order to get the better of an adversary, put yourself in slavery to the devil, your greatest adversary of all." The nobleman allowed that this was true, and requested that no one might know of the step he had intended to take.

Another evil thing befell at the same time which was not so easily remedied. Although the Parliament passed no law against the Catholics, an order of the Privy Council was, nevertheless, issued shortly after, requiring the sons of Catholic nobles to be given up to the bishops or their friends, if they demanded it, to be educated in their academies and in their religion. Some of them were thereupon actually taken away from their parents, in spite of all the efforts of the

latter to prevent their children falling into such hands in their tender youth, at an age when they might easily be drawn into heresy, by flatteries and fair promises. A noble lady, the heroic Countess of Traquair, fought for her son with undaunted courage, like a lioness robbed of her whelps, declaring that if he went to schools or academies, she would accompany him, unless she were thrown into prison. If her relations, who were some of the first men in the kingdom, had not kept her at home, there was nothing she would not have endured rather than have her son thus carried off, to the imminent peril of his soul. God, however, guarded against the danger in His own way by arming these youthful minds with such generous constancy and firmness that every one of them, by the special favour of God, has so far persevered unshaken in the faith, and no promises or threats can induce them to attend the sermons of the heretics. This gave great displeasure to a certain heretical pedagogue, who had been appointed to the charge of a nobleman's son scarcely twelve years old; and he took the boy up in his arms, struggling violently, and actually tried to carry him to church. The boy, however, dug his heels into his sides so vigorously that at length he was obliged to set him down, which he did, reproaching him with misconduct and a bad disposition for thus treating him when he was trying to do him all the good in his power. "You have nothing to complain of, my master," the boy replied, "if you make yourself my horse, it is only fair I should give you the spur!" Thus it ended in a jest, and the boy returned home. We have reason to hope they will all be ultimately restored to their parents.

I cannot give so favourable an account of the piety

and constancy of a young lady of noble birth, who has returned to her native country from a convent in which she had been educated, and where she had passed several years, and whose love of freedom and self-indulgence occasioned no little scandal, especially as every one of course expected peculiar modesty and composure of manner in a girl so piously brought up. Heretics, nevertheless, had no right to make this a handle, as they did, for inveighing against nuns and convents generally, as being anything but what the priests represented them to be, for they must often have seen maidens of irreproachable modesty and propriety of conduct return to their homes from these establishments. But it is their habit to lay hold of the slightest faults of Catholics, and spread them abroad as a reproach to the Catholic religion and not merely errors of individuals; and when they hear of great and illustrious examples of virtue, they say nothing about them, or else, which is worse, paint them in false and unfavourable colours. They have not been able, however, so completely to suppress the facts, but that some cases of this kind, and very splendid ones, have become generally known to the glory of God and the praise of the Catholic religion.

A conspicuous case occurred in the piety of a noble lady, the wife of the Earl of Errol. This lady was converted to the faith by one of our Fathers, two years ago, in the lifetime of her husband, who was High Constable of the realm. While he was alive, she ceased to attend the heretic worship, and received the Sacraments of the Church without his knowledge and in private. This year, since his death, she has emerged from her concealment, and publicly acknowledged herself a Catholic; though the fact was generally

suspected before from her exceptional virtue, piety, and modesty, to which her high rank was the means of calling attention. It is astonishing what excitement her conversion occasioned among her noble friends and relatives, and the fury of the ministers is indescribable. But if she has an acute and ingenious mind, she has an equally high spirit. She quietly put a stop to all this commotion, or disregarded it, so that she has lost none of her friends, and has no declared enemies. The ministers themselves, well aware of her good sense and penetration, are afraid to charge her with acting precipitately and without due consideration of the subject, or to pretend that she did not understand the principles of their doctrine, and the conclusion to which it leads. There is little probability of their bringing a formal charge at law against her.

An action of another nobleman told with some effect, not only upon his opponents, but on his judges as well. The Lord Semple, a man of high rank and very old family, was cited before the Council for having sent his only son and heir to study at our seminary at Douay. He was an invalid, and lived sixty miles or more away, but he came punctually to the day appointed, and being asked by the president of the Council where his son was, he answered frankly that he had sent him to study at Douay. "By the orders of the Council," said the president, "you are bound to bring him home as soon as possible, and send him to school at Glasgow Academy. This was what the Council wanted to intimate to you. The penalty is a heavy fine and imprisonment, unless you obey at once." He answered respectfully that he would send for his son from Belgium, if such were the orders of the Council; and then raising his voice, he said with

great courage and freedom, and much earnestness, that as to sending his son to be educated by Protestants, he would not do it for any fine or forfeit, not even that of life itself. Then he took off his wig, and showing his bare head, said, "Take this, if this is what you want, but I never will consent to have my son educated in any but the Catholic faith."

They knew well that he was in earnest, and though to save an appearance of respect for their own orders they kept him under arrest for a short time, he was soon set free, and held in high honour, as having given proof of his ancestral courage and firmness, and shown truly Christian constancy.

I could relate many instances of generous and firm attachment to the faith, not very unlike this, not among people of rank only, but also among the commoners. These are, more than the others, under the sway of the heretic ministers, who worry them incessantly, and in every way, more especially by insisting, whenever they can, upon Protestants preventing Catholics from settling on their lands, or employing them as workmen or servants. Their attempts are, however, generally ineffectual, for Catholics notoriously make excellent servants and conscientious workmen, and so get employment, and are highly valued by their masters. There are, however, a good many Catholics who have been deprived of their lands and houses simply for religion's sake. They have endured their sufferings with great constancy, and would rather lose all they have, and wander to the ends of the world, than reject God's message of salvation, or abandon the faith they have once professed.

The endurance of such persecution with calmness and religious constancy by men of humble station, is no

trifle, and by no means a slight proof of faith and resolution. People of this sort are naturally timid, afraid of incurring the anger of men in power and influence, and shrink from the loss of their humble possessions. Young preachers, especially those just appointed to their parishes, like to exhibit zeal for their religion, and exercise their newly acquired powers. Again, prosecutions of this sort are frequently instituted by private enemies, and one or two persons may be singled out for ruin, while others suffer nothing, at least by public process of law.

The constancy of Catholics in their faith occasions the greater wonder among Protestants, because in this country the common people have been habituated to follow the religion of their chief or leader, whatever that may be. A countryman, being asked by the minister what faith and religion he professed, is said to have replied that he did not know at present, because he could not make out what was the religion of Protector Cromwell, but as soon as he knew, he would certainly adopt it.

Catholics, thank God, do not follow this course, but whatever master they serve, they always adhere to Catholic faith and worship, and do not allow novel opinions and errors to influence them. This fidelity is evidently a proof of the special blessing of God; for we find that among the lower classes in this country, by far the greatest hindrance to their first acceptance of the Catholic faith, is their terror of being dismissed by their masters, or incurring their displeasure.

This fear has, in many cases during the past year, been overcome by the higher fear of God; as is proved by the number of conversions which have taken place all over the kingdom, which are not only reported in

the private letters of our Fathers, but openly denounced by the ministers from their pulpits. They make all this clamour in order to excite the people against us, vociferating everywhere that their own religion is ruined and undone. They therefore spare no exertion to have the laws, especially those against recent converts, strictly put in execution.

Many years' experience has taught me that, in missions as in military life, more result is gained by choice of instruments than by mere numbers. A few good and practised warriors, who notice everything, choose their opportunities, and avoid dangers hidden from other eyes, will gain a victory with more ease and better fortune than an unskilled multitude insufficiently trained to war, whose rashness or weakness (to say no worse) will detract from their reputation more than it can add to their real strength, or contribute to their success. Our heretic countrymen are greatly led by piety and gravity of manner, which their own leaders specially affect, and being acute and subtle in intelligence, and far from illiterate, are well at home in controversies on matters of faith. We therefore repeat, in all submission, the request which has already been preferred in former Annual Letters, that none should be sent on this mission except such as are well matured and fitted for it.

Letter of Father J. Forbes.

2nd May 1679.

Most Illustrious Lord,

About the beginning of October last year, the most dreadful reports began to circulate in this country, to the effect that all the Catholics, and our Fathers more especially, had conspired for the destruc-

tion of the King's life, and the massacre of all the heterodox in a body.[1] It is extraordinary what a revolution this has occasioned in the whole situation of our affairs. Before this happened, the Catholic cause was so flourishing that there never was a time, since heresy first began to make progress in this country, when the crop seemed to be ripening more quickly for the harvest. But as soon as the enemy came and sowed these tares, they grew so fast that we seemed to hear the voices of madmen saying, "Let us go and root up all the Papists." Yet their indignation was hardly to be wondered at, for there was no calumny which the malice and envy of our enemies could excogitate which they did not disseminate in proclamations and infamous libels, all of which were, by order of the authorities, fixed in all the public places, and produced in the minds of the ignorant and the prejudiced, a conviction of the truth of these allegations so strong, that they thought them almost as well founded as the Gospel itself. Every word they contained was, nevertheless, utterly false. They averred that the supreme Pontiff, the College of Cardinals, and the General of the Jesuits, were the prime movers and inventors of all these horrible machinations. Fasts were observed, and sermons preached in all the parishes of the kingdom, in thanksgiving (so they said) for the discovery of the designs of the Catholics.

[1] Titus Oates had falsely asserted that the Catholics were plotting against the King. The assassination of the King was to be followed by that of his councillors, by a French invasion, and by a general massacre of Protestants. A panic followed, and the proscription of priests and other Catholics was loudly demanded by the mob.

A proclamation was issued offering a reward of £20 to any one who should apprehend a priest. After having directly or indirectly contrived the judicial murder of some thirty-five men, Oates was put upon his trial for perjury. He was sentenced to be whipped and to be committed close prisoner for the rest of his life.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION

Introductory Note

Hostility bitter and unreasoning against Catholics had grown rather than diminished towards the close of the reign of Charles II. It is estimated that, as a result of the infamous fictions of Titus Oates, two thousand persons were imprisoned on suspicion of being implicated in the plot, and a number of priests and laymen suffered death as traitors on his perjured statements.

Charles II. died on 6th February 1685 and was succeeded by his brother James, Duke of York, who was a convert to the Catholic faith. Again, after generations, a Catholic sat on the British throne. It would have required great tact and prudence, as well as the art of waiting an opportunity, in order to take full advantage of the situation. James indeed seems to have been incapable of understanding difficulties; but it would be hard to maintain that, by repealing the penal statutes against Catholics and by pronouncing himself in favour of complete liberty of conscience for all denominations, he had transgressed the limits of the royal prerogative, as understood by his predecessors. Many, however, preferred civil war to the Pope, and popular discontent broke out in repeated risings against the royal authority, till there came the climax, which compelled James, in the year 1688, to abandon his crown to William of Orange, and to seek refuge in France.

At the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange, the London mob began pulling down the Catholic chapels and houses (p. 141). The first news the Scottish Catholics received of these events was when the rabble pulled down their houses. The flight of King James disheartened all his friends (p. 142). A tempest was gathering against the Catholics. On the 20th of December 1688, the mob assaulted the King's palace at Holyrood, and rushed into his domestic

chapel, breaking and defacing everything. The houses of Catholics were rifled (p. 144).

The strictest search was made for priests. Mr Dunbar was apprehended (p. 145). Bishop Nicolson escaped from Edinburgh, but was arrested in the west of Scotland (p. 145). Mr Burnet made his escape, and was followed by the rabble as far as Kirkcaldy. He reached Speyside and there joined Mr Alexander Leslie. They lay a whole month together, night and day, on the heather in the open air, and from November 1689 to March 1690 they could only shelter in a hut built of rough stones, and many times were all covered with snow in the morning (p. 146).

The missioners in the north lay hid among private families till spring, when the search for priests was resumed, and then they had to stay on the hills in the open air. The country was harried by soldiers, commerce and intercourse languished, missioners lay fainting with sickness for want of nourishment, and during the night crawled from house to house to procure a little bread (p. 148). Many of them were apprehended and sent to Blackness and Dunnottar (p. 148). Many laymen were imprisoned, and the houses of Lady Lucy Hamilton, Lady Mary Hay, and the Dowager Countess of Errol were rifled (p. 150). Mr Bruce, who introduced paper manufacture into Scotland, had his house burnt and his family maltreated (p. 150). King William gave strict orders for the suppression of all popular commotion. Priests, however, were liable to be apprehended anywhere by the soldiers or by the populace (p. 158).

Some account of the state of Religion in Scotland from 1688 to 1787, compiled from Letters and other Original Monuments by the Rev. John Thompson[1].—*Extracts from a Transcript made by the Rev. W. Clapperton, and preserved at St Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh.*

1688

. . . This year ended with that event which produced such great changes in the ecclesiastical and

[1] The Rev. John Thompson was at one time Rector of the Seminary at Scalan (1767), later Procurator of the Mission at Edinburgh (1779), and

political status of the kingdom, and in the very essence of the constitution. As the Revolution gave birth to many transactions, and was followed by a long period of trouble for Catholics, I will give the best account of it and of its consequences that I can from the memoirs in my hands.

The Prince of Orange landed in England on the 5th of November. The enemies of the King had affected to disbelieve the reports concerning the preparations and intentions of the Prince, and suppressed all intelligence about his movements. The King himself was so infatuated that he would not credit the invasion till it was too late. The Prince was scarce landed when the London mob assembled and proceeded to pull down Catholic chapels and houses; nor did the mansions of certain foreign ambassadors escape their fury. The first intimation the Catholics in Scotland received of these events was to see furious mobs pulling down their houses. Before the end of December, King William was in all but peaceable possession of the three kingdoms by the sudden and cowardly flight of King James, who had been infatuated during all his reign, and had been the dupe of pretended friends, and pernicious counsels. His infatuation continued to the end; for this last unaccountable step by which he

finally Clergy Agent in Rome (1782). He died in 1784. Thompson therefore had every opportunity of seeing documents, and tells us that his account is founded on the correspondence of Mr Burnet, who was missioner in Scotland from 1660 to 1695. Another correspondent was Father Thomas Innes, "who was very exact and diligent in collecting all memoirs that could serve for the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland." Of Father George Innes, nephew of Father Thomas Innes, we learn that his "letters were the principal documents he had since the death of his uncle." Thompson's work, the original MS. of which is at Blairs College, covers the period from 1650 to 1731. The narrative of events from 1731 to 1787 is by the Abbé Macpherson.

concluded his reign, struck his very enemies with astonishment. He could not have served their purposes more effectually. At the same time he disheartened his friends and made them as men defenceless by abandoning them. They were obliged to make the best terms they were able with the victor. I cannot blame those historians who call this event the abdication of King James, nor the Parliament for having voted that he had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby become vacant; for he did abdicate the crown by flying the kingdom so precipitately; and of him it may with justice be said that he was worthy to reign if he had never reigned.

It is true that many of his subjects had abandoned him, but it is also true that he had very many friends and a strong party, had not his sudden flight disheartened and disconcerted them, and obliged them to disperse. For who could fight for a King who was the first to abandon the field? Had he remained to lead and encourage them, there is every reason to believe that he might have kept possession of the crown. The attempts that were made afterwards in his favour by his numerous friends confirm this beyond a doubt; but they were too late. Even Protestant historians condemn his timidity, and tell us that if it had not been for that, and his precipitous flight, the nation would have certainly returned to its allegiance. His best friends urged him to stay in the kingdom, but he was deaf to their remonstrances. The success of the invasion exceeded the most sanguine hopes, and perhaps even the intentions of his enemies, for there are good reasons to think that the original design and general intention of the invaders was rather to intimidate him than to deprive him of his crown. . . .

1689

But enough of the Revolution; let us now come to the consequences of it, and the sufferings of the Catholics in Scotland, especially of the clergy and missioners. Scarce had the news of what was going on in England, and of the arrival of the Prince of Orange in London, reached Edinburgh when the people in general became so unruly that persons in power were not able to keep them within the bounds of their duty, especially after the King's troops had been called to England. It was easy to see from the countenances and discourse of the people that a tempest was gathering against the Roman Catholics. Accordingly on the 20th of December 1688 a number of journeymen and apprentices began to parade the streets towards the evening, calling aloud on the citizens to proceed to the reformation of the kingdom and of the city. In a short time, the mob, to the number of 700, assisted by the company of regular forces which served for the city guard, and by the train bands of the city, consisting of 600 men, proceeded to the Abbey, and began their hellish work.

The King's palace was guarded by only forty soldiers, under the command of Captain Wallace, whose company alone remained in Scotland, the rest of the regular forces having gone to England to oppose the invasion. Captain Wallace defended the gates manfully for a while, but having but a handful of men against such a number, he was soon overpowered, and obliged to fly and abandon the palace to the rage of the multitude, who immediately rushed in, and broke and defaced everything in the King's domestic chapel, and threw all out of the windows into the outer court.

They then went to the Abbey church, which had been repaired on the inside at a great expense, and was almost complete. Here they broke down all the ornaments in the same manner, and carried all to the outer court, where they threw all into one heap, and setting fire to it, they consumed at once books, ornaments, and vestments; some of the nobility standing by as spectators, and countenancing the rabble all the while. This being done, the mob rifled all the houses of the Catholics in the town, suburbs, and neighbourhood, and what they left undone that night, they completed during the three or four days following.

The Chancellor[1] left the city that day. His house in town was full of very good and valuable furniture, some of which was burned, but the greater part became a prey to the mob; each one carrying off what he could lay his hands on. The rabble made the strictest search for priests and for altar fittings. But this contingency had been foreseen, and the circumstance of the attack being by night favoured the escape of the priests, so that but few of them were taken at Edinburgh at that time. Therefore I will give the best account I can of the fortunes of each of them.

Mr Dunbar and Mr George Gordon escaped to the

[1] This was James Drummond, fourth Earl and first titular Duke of Perth. His mother, who died on the 9th of January 1656, was Lady Anne Gordon, eldest daughter of George, second Marquis of Huntly. On the 18th of January 1670 he married Lady Jane Douglas, fourth daughter of William, first Marquis of Douglas. The Earl of Perth, who had been Lord Chancellor of Scotland during the reign of James, was a convert to the Catholic Church. He tried to escape to France in order to join the King in exile, but the ship in which both he and Lady Perth embarked was boarded, about three miles from the Bass, by a band of ruffians, who inflicted much brutal treatment on their captives. The Earl and the Countess were brought to Stirling, and confined in the Castle for three years. An interesting account of the Drummonds, Earls of Perth, may be seen in E. Walford's *Tales of our great Families.*

JOHN DRUMMOND,

First Earl of Melfort. (1649-1714).

Bicket, after Kneller.

Castle, which was held for the King by the Duke of Gordon. Mr Dunbar afterwards went north to Gordon Castle, where he continued in safety for a while, but he was soon taken, though by the interest of friends he got his liberty on his parole and bail to appear before the Council when called. But soon after, he was confided to the custody of the governors of Gordon Castle without the liberty of speaking or writing to any one.

Dr Nicolson was obliged about midnight to change his quarters, and to pass through the midst of the mob, whose fury was not then in the least abated. They were then busy in carrying books, vestments, pictures, etc., to a great bonfire which they had made in the High Street. They walked in a kind of procession, and he who was at their head carried a crucifix in his hand, and was surrounded by large crowds of women and boys with lighted torches in their hands, and thus they proceeded with barbarous festivity, testifying their joy with huzzas and loud acclamations. Dr Nicolson went to the west country, and joined Lord Dunfermline and others, who formed a party for the King. He was apprehended, however, soon after, with the Lord Chancellor, and after four or five months' imprisonment, first in Stirling Castle and then at Edinburgh, was set at liberty; his friends becoming surety for him that he should leave the country, and never return again. He went over to Dunkirk, where he stayed some time as confessor to the English nuns, and employed himself in representing the distressed state of the religious and political affairs of the nation, and in procuring some relief for the poor missioners and Catholics.

Mr Burnet made his escape to Leith, leaving his house, books, and furniture as they stood, but he it was

who saved from the hands of the mob the chalice, ostensory, and censer belonging to the King's chapel, which have always been preserved at Edinburgh since. These he carried with him, as being the most valuable; but he was obliged to abandon his own altar vessels to the fury of the mob. His intention was to cross the ferry immediately, and to proceed with all expedition to the north, in order to forestall the report of the tumult, and to put friends on their guard, lest other towns should follow the example of Edinburgh, as they did, though they had not so much matter to work on. But as it was night, he could get no boat, and was forced to remain at Leith till towards four o'clock in the morning, when he was informed that the rabble were on their way to Leith. This obliged him to retire to the fields, where he remained till daybreak in that frosty season, when he hired a boat at Newhaven, and crossed the ferry, and immediately took horse. He had not left Kirkcaldy half-an-hour when the rabble followed him half a mile out of town, though he did not stay or speak to any person in it. He proceeded without further molestation till he came to Montrose, from whence he had not departed half-an-hour early in the morning, when the bailies were at his lodgings in search of him. In the end he arrived safe at Spey-side, in the lands of the Duke of Gordon. There he joined Mr Alexander Leslie. They lay a whole month together, night and day, on the heather in the open air without coming near a house. They stayed two months more in two cottages without appearing in the day-time, and from November 1689 to March 1690, they lived in a hut built of rough stones, without any cement, where wind and snow came betwixt every stone, and many times they were all covered with snow in the morning. This may serve

as a specimen of the sufferings and distress of the rest.

The missioners in the north skulked in private families till the spring, when Viscount Dundee appearing with a small party for the King, and drawing towards the north, the Orange forces followed him, when they began to search for priests, and sent to prison all those whom they apprehended. The distress of the clergy at that time was great beyond expression. They durst not stay in the houses of Catholics who were able to give them a part of what they had to eat and drink, for thither the soldiers came frequently in search of priests and loyal persons. When after some stay in a poor cottage, they happened to be discovered by the curiosity of neighbours, they were forced to change quarters in the dead of the night; and in general they stayed in the hills in the open air, day and night during the summer, when they had the greatest difficulty to support their lives. They were obliged to purchase any small necessaries, which were scarcely to be had for money; besides, their resources were exhausted, as they were unable to get their *quotas* in such troublesome times, and could not recover just debts, the course of justice being thwarted where priests and loyal people were concerned. They borrowed as long as they had any credit, and when that failed them, their sufferings and distress became exceedingly great. Besides, the country was harassed by soldiers, and all communication and commerce between the north and south country being interrupted, the people were reduced to great distress, and were not in a condition to assist the missioners, many of whom lay fainting and languishing with sickness, for want of nourishment proper for human beings, and

were obliged to crawl about in the night time from house to house to procure a little bread to support their lives.

The missioners were twenty-five in number; viz., Messrs Dunbar, John Irvine, Alexander Leslie, Alexander Irvine, Alexander Crichton, George Innes, Walter Innes, David Guthrie, James Donaldson, Robert Strachan, John Jamieson, George Gordon, Dr Nicolson, James Nicol, Robert Davison, and David Burnet in the Lowlands; while in the Highlands were, Messrs Cahasy [Casey], Devoyer, Ryan, Carolan, Hamat, Harnett, Mangan, Trevor, and Munro. Before the end of the year 1689, several of them were apprehended, and sent to prison.

Mr Walter Innes[1] was seized and sent as a prisoner to Blackness Castle. Mr Crichton was taken at Strathbogie, and sent to Dunnottar Castle, and from thence to Aberdeen. The others seem to have escaped their pursuers; but the case of those who were in prison was perhaps preferable to that of those who were at liberty, for the former knew the worst that could befall them, and were at least sure of their subsistence, whereas the latter were exposed to continual fears, and what was worse, were in danger of starving from want.

The case of the Jesuits and Benedictines was much better than that of the secular clergy. Some of the former were taken and sent to prison; but most went over to the Continent, where they were received with open arms, and soon forgot their sufferings[2] in the

[1] *Records of Scots Colleges* (Spalding Club), pp. 26, 119, 120.

[2] Though not immoderate for a man of his day, Thompson had of course not arrived at our modern sensitiveness to expressions of partiality, such as this. It may be worth adding, that in his MS. these pin-pricks are more frequent than we need quote here.

comforts they met with among their brethren. But the poor clergy, having no place where they could expect a reception abroad, were obliged to remain in the country in poverty and in want, in the midst of persecution, till the fury of it should abate. But to be more particular with regard to the Jesuits and Benedictines. Father Marr, who stayed at Edinburgh, went to London, and thence to Douay, where he was made Rector. Father Leslie had gone to Germany to see his brother, and Father Seton had been called out of Galloway to Edinburgh, to take the management of their affairs upon him during Leslie's absence. He was taken prisoner with Father Innes, and they were both sent to Blackness. Father Fairfoul was taken near Inverness, and committed to prison there. He was then attending the Master of Tarbet, having succeeded Father Bruce, a Benedictine who was taken near Methie, and brought to Dundee, where, after being kept in prison for three months he was set at liberty. Father Widdrington was another of their ordinary preachers, and confessor to the Chancellor; but what became of him I do not know. Father Durham and Father Maxwell were their two professors of humanities. Father James Gordon resided at Leith with Lady Semple, and his brother, who went under the name of Reid, stayed at Garleton. Father James and Mr Morell, a young Jesuit, not yet a priest, who had come over to teach the low schools, went to the Continent at the beginning of the troubles. Father Corse, a French Jesuit, and Father Menzies, who, though born of Scots parents, knew very little of his mother tongue, being bred up in France from his infancy, went over to the Continent, as did Father Adamson, after being kept prisoner for some time

after the Revolution. Father Dunbar stayed also at Edinburgh, and then went south to Galloway, where he resided a year at Dumfries in Lieutenant Rattray's house, to whose troop he was chaplain, and went up with the forces to England, but returned to Scotland, and joined the King's party in the Highlands in 1689. Father Cook, who stayed sometimes at Drummond and sometimes at Stobhall, and Father Mackie, and Father James Bruce, who for a short time, went north with the Master of Tarbet, and had lived in Edinburgh and in Galloway for a while, and was taken as related above, all went to the Continent to their monasteries. Such is the account I can collect of the fortunes and sufferings of the clergy in the first fury of the mob.

The laity also had their share in the common calamity, and many of them were imprisoned, and suffered great distress. Among others, three noble ladies who had lived many years in Edinburgh without giving offence to anyone, viz.—Lady Lucy Hamilton, Lady Mary Hay, and the Dowager Countess of Errol, had their houses rifled and their furniture burned. The mob committed a still more barbarous action against a Catholic gentleman of the name of Bruce, who, after having made a fortune in Poland and Germany, had returned to his native country with his family and effects. He had brought several springs of water to Edinburgh at his own expense, and had established a paper manufactory, the first seen in Scotland. A man of such a public spirit deserved to be caressed and rewarded, but instead of that, the mob in his absence assaulted his house with great fury, turned his wife, who was a foreigner, and his children out of doors, carried off the furniture, and set fire to the house. . . .

1690

The missioners were still skulking in the hills and woods; and partly on account of not getting their small *quotas* regularly, partly on account of the scarcity of all the necessaries of life, occasioned by the oppression the country laboured under, they were reduced to the greatest distress, and seeing no prospect of relief, it was agreed to send one of their body over to the Continent, to represent their case to the Holy See, and to the ecclesiastics and other charitable people in Catholic countries. Mr David Burnet was pitched on for that purpose; and as King James was then in Ireland, and it was easier to procure a passage to the Continent from that kingdom than from Britain, it was judged proper that he should go to Ireland. Accordingly he set out in the spring of this year 1690. He travelled through Badenoch, Lochaber, and Mull; and if he had not had a man with him, who carried oatmeal on his back, he would have been in danger of perishing for want of food. After many dangers by sea in an open boat, he landed in Ireland, and reached Dublin about the beginning of May. From thence he wrote to friends abroad, viz.—to Mr Whyteford, Vice-principal of the Scots' College at Paris, and to Mr Leslie, Procurator at Rome, acquainting them of his intentions, and begging them to represent the distressed condition of the missioners to the clergy of Paris and Rome. He sent them also a circumstantial and authentic relation of the sufferings of the missioners and Catholics, and of the state of the country from

the time of the Prince of Orange's landing in England until that time. This was the first true and circumstantial relation they had received, as it was both dangerous and difficult for those in Scotland to correspond with friends abroad. From this relation is partly drawn the account given above of the fortunes of the different labourers. Mr Burnet stayed but a month or two at Dublin, for King James was unable to protect his friends there after the loss of the Battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st of July of this year. He was then obliged to depart in haste, and after travelling about a hundred miles, mostly on foot, he providentially got a passage, and arrived safe at Paris in August. From thence he wrote to Mr Leslie to inform him of his safe arrival, and of his intention of continuing his pilgrimage to Rome, in order to give full details by word of mouth about the desperate plight of the missioners. . . .

Soon after Mr Burnet's arrival at Paris, King James arrived in France from Ireland; and after considering the situation of his affairs in Scotland, it was judged more advantageous for his service that Mr Burnet should return immediately to Scotland. Accordingly His Majesty ordered him to return home without delay, in order to promote his interests. He left Paris therefore in the beginning of September, but first he wrote to Mr Leslie at Rome to acquaint him of this alteration in his plans, representing anew the distress of the missioners, and the necessity of relieving them, for the support of the Catholic religion in Scotland.

I can find no memoirs of any other transactions of this year; consequently they must be either lost, or perhaps the private and retired life which the

missioners and Catholics were obliged to lead did not furnish any events to be recorded. It would appear, however, that the missioners in prison continued there; and that the others, by concealing themselves, escaped the pursuit of their persecutors.

1691

This year also is very deficient in memoirs, and very probably in events relating to religion in Scotland, which is owing, no doubt, to the continuation of the persecution, and to the retired and private life which the missioners led. I shall, however, collect the few gleanings of the memoirs I have had occasion to see. . . .

The missioners who were in prison were indulged this year with the liberty of going abroad in the daytime. This was owing to the strong representations made from Rome to the Emperor, who was one of the principal allies of the Prince of Orange. One of the articles of that shameful league made between the Emperor and the Prince of Orange, the King of Spain, etc., to dethrone King James and to humble the power of Louis XIV., was that the Catholics should not be molested, and that they should enjoy a toleration as they had done under Protestant princes in England; but this article was ill observed by the Protestant powers, and little insisted on by the Catholic princes.[1]

[1] Letter from Dunkirk, 16th of September 1690.

BISHOP NICOLSON *to the* VERY REV. FR. THYRSUS GONZALEZ, GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY. — An account of the Changes which have occurred in Scotland (*Blairs College* MSS.).[1]

[DUNKIRK], 26*th January* 1691.

RIGHT REVEREND LORD,

I received not long ago your letter of the 10th of November, and wonder at your asking me so often for a narrative of the late Revolution in Great Britain. I made the attempt when I first came to this place, but I found unexpected difficulties. There was so much to say which could easily be told by word of mouth, but which it is hardly safe to write. Besides, I had an obstinate and troublesome sickness which kept me for months in bed, and made it impossible even to think of writing, and there were many passing from Britain to Rome who could tell you a great deal more than I could write.

However, to comply as far as I can, I will describe

[1] The letter is not signed. It is, however, in the handwriting of Bishop Nicolson, to give him the title by which he is more usually known. It is endorsed :—"Mr Nicolson's letter from Dunkirk, with an account of the changes which have occurred in Scotland." Thomas Nicolson, son of Sir Thomas Nicolson of Kemnay, embraced the Catholic Faith in 1682, and in July of that same year he proceeded to Padua. At the same time, two fellow-countrymen of his were engaged in teaching in the same house. These were Mr Strachan and Dr Jamieson, who both afterwards became distinguished missioners in Scotland. Taking the Scottish College of Douay on his way, he prosecuted his theological studies there. After remaining three years in that seminary he was promoted to holy orders in 1685 ; and, in December 1687 he returned as missionary priest to Scotland along with Dr Jamieson. At the Revolution in 1688 he was apprehended at Stirling and imprisoned for some months. On the security of his brother, he was permitted to leave the country, and passed over to France. On 27th February 1695 he was consecrated Bishop. In November he tried to land in England, but was arrested and imprisoned till the following May, 1696.

briefly how some of the Catholics, and the priests especially, have fared in the recent troubles.

When the King's power was overthrown in England, there were unmistakable signs of civil war in Scotland also, and the adherents of the Royal cause, who meant to persevere in their allegiance, had to provide for their safety. The popular excitement was very great, and the Government had lost all control over the mob; especially as the King had called away his army to London.

However difficult it may be to foresee what a multitude will do, still it was quite evident that a storm was gathering against the Catholics. The wildest political schemes were attributed to them, which not only they never dreamt of, but which really never entered into a human imagination; and yet they were asserted so confidently from the pulpits that the people were persuaded of their reality. The faces of the heretics, especially of the Presbyterians, portended a tempest. The storm broke first at Edinburgh, where on a certain evening a great crowd, principally young artisans and domestic servants, rushed through the streets, calling upon the citizens to come out to the reformation of the city and kingdom. Their numbers increasing, they ventured an attack on the palace, which is in the suburbs, and assailed the sentries on guard. The soldiers resisting, one of the crowd was killed and three badly hurt. Nothing daunted, they returned to the town, and were joined by a considerable number of the citizens. Then they induced some of the members of the royal council, by threats or entreaties, to give orders for the withdrawal of the guard. The order, however, was not obeyed until some of the rioters had been so severely wounded that they soon died, and the

soldiers then retiring of their own accord, the mob entered the palace. They dismantled the chapel, in which Catholic worship had been publicly celebrated, and committed all the furniture to the flames. Then they proceeded to the neighbouring church, which formerly belonged to Canons Regular, but which was then undergoing repair at the King's expense, the chapel being so small. They then plundered the residence of the Chancellor, who had left only that day, and did much damage, but the furniture of the house being very costly, they did not burn it; some of the Reformers preferring to appropriate it to themselves.

All the houses of Catholics in the town, or within three or four miles, were treated in a similar manner. The later sufferers took warning by the fate of their neighbours, and conveyed the greater part of their property into a place of safety; but the mob took ample vengeance for their loss by defacing the walls, and breaking the glass windows. There was an active search for priests and altar furniture, but this had been foreseen, and though there were many priests residing in the town, very few were taken. Dunbar, our superior, and George Gordon, took refuge in Edinburgh Castle. Burnet crossed over into Fife, and thence got to Aberdeen, with the loss of all he possessed, including his books, but he managed to preserve the statues, chalices, and other things belonging to the royal chapel. Leslie, the superior of the Fathers of your Society, went into the north, where there are many Catholics, and the population was favourable to the King. Most of the Society followed him, two only being left in Edinburgh, who, being little known, could remain there safely. My own lodging was in the middle of the town, and I had to change my abode. In doing so, I passed

through a crowd of people who were more like furies of hell than human beings. They were conveying a quantity of sacred images and books found in the houses of the Catholics, principally breviaries and books of prayers, to a great fire lighted in the street.

One of them went in front with a great crucifix, surrounded by a crowd of children and women carrying lighted torches and shouting for joy. The novelty of the sight, and my own personal danger, so much occupied me that I did not feel at the time all the anguish which such a spectacle was calculated to draw forth, but the recollection of it never recurs to me (and it recurs very often) without leaving behind it a most painful impression. *Vidi mala gentis nostræ et Sanctorum.*

The Prince of Orange had by this time reached London, where he found nothing to oppose him, and had all his own way. The English, who had invited him over, came in crowds to offer their allegiance, as did many of the Scottish nobility and gentry, and—what will brand them with indelible infamy—they advised him to assume the crown of Scotland, in violation of the fealty they had so often sworn to the King, and in opposition to all right and justice. He accepted willingly, and in fact it was to make himself King that he came to England, for his pretended anxiety about English liberties and the Protestant religion was little more than a pretext.

From that time, he assumed the royal authority in Scotland, and gave strict orders for the suppression of all popular commotion. Catholics were therefore permitted, both in town and country, to live in their own homes, if not without fear, at any rate without any positive molestation.

But this protection was not extended to priests, and they could find no safe residence anywhere, but were liable to be apprehended wherever they were found, without an order from any authority, by the soldiers or the fanatical populace. When arrested, they were thrown into prison, and only released on condition of going into exile, security being given by their friends that they would not return. Many of them rejected these terms, and preferred remaining in durance, in expectation of the King's bringing an army to Scotland. That is about the position in which things still remain. Those who have escaped imprisonment by flight and concealment are worse off than they would have been in gaol.

We have one source of consolation, which is that the Catholics remain firm in their faith, in spite of all they have suffered. I have only heard of three or four instances of apostasy, and these are people who had in all probability only returned to the bosom of their Mother the Church, in hope of some worldly advantage.

Now to reply to your questions: a task which Burnet entrusted to me when he went away. You say that you at Rome are surprised that the Scottish priests should complain so loudly of persecution, when similar lamentations do not reach you from the neighbouring kingdom of England; and you cannot see why the wealthy laity in Scotland cannot supply us with food, clothing, and a safe shelter. You would not wonder if you understood the predominance in Scotland of the terrible Calvinist sect of the Presbyterians. Their hatred of us is stolid and implacable. It was this sect who first overthrew the Catholic religion in Scotland, and they have persecuted it ever since with unrelenting fury.

In England, on the other hand, the chief power is in the hands of the bishops and their followers, who are much more tolerant towards Catholics, and never persecute them. They regard them with suspicion if the Prince favours them, or if their advice is taken in political matters, or if they are put in possession of ecclesiastical revenues; but as regards anything else they are not very solicitous.

Now I do not say that our people in Scotland are in any degree deficient, either in charity or zeal; yet my own experience teaches me that we must not look for that effective support and protection from them in times of calamity, which you appear to expect. Missionary priests cannot always be concealed in the houses of the nobles, or at least, not long, for the whole neighbourhood is banded together against them, and the chief must have Protestant servants in his house, because he cannot get others. A man's foes are those of his own household. And as regards Catholics who are poor, they are deprived of the protection of the law, they are not allowed to practise any handicraft or engage in any trade; they live in poverty and terror of all around them, and if things look threatening, they generally ask the priest to quit their houses, lest he should be apprehended there, and so bring them into trouble. If I have rightly understood the sense of your letter, you suspect us of having exhibited an imprudent political partisanship, and you attribute to this cause the general dislike with which we are all regarded. But I think the conduct of our opponents themselves will acquit us of this charge. They also once supported the King's cause, and acknowledged that they abandoned him only because he was a Catholic. It is clear, then, that Catholics can do nothing which will not displease them.

All the calumnies and invectives with which we are ceaselessly assailed, have no other object than our religion. God be thanked that their hatred is without cause. It is well known that no priests were employed in the administration of the Government in Scotland. Catholic noblemen no doubt were so employed, but in every case, they were men who had been raised to office before they became members of the Catholic Church. We did not acquire property under the late Government, nor had we any hopes of doing so. In this respect, all that can be alleged against us is comprised under these three heads; that the King presented the Jesuits with a College, when he gave them permission to teach in public; that he augmented their numbers by recalling the Fathers who had been sent into exile in foreign lands; and that he increased their pensions, which, having been fixed many years ago, were now insufficient for their support.

But you must not imagine that they lived in any splendid or extravagant style, for the allowance of each Father for the maintenance of himself and a servant was only twenty pounds sterling annually. This is hardly so much as the pension of a cleric in any mission-house or episcopal seminary, and I do not think there is any religious order in the Church which would hesitate to ask for, and accept as much as this, under the same circumstances. These payments were a mere fraction of the whole amount expended on the King's charities; and I do not see that our King had any less right than his predecessors to give his own money to anyone he pleased. I have pointed out the real causes of the Revolution in my previous letters; all Europe understands now perfectly well that it was not our doing.

You know the misery to which our brethren are reduced at the present time, and it is quite unnecessary for me to describe it. Every day we hear of priests being apprehended and thrown into prison, while the noblemen who might have aided them are themselves in custody, or have all their property taken from them, for their fidelity to their King.

Our mission is in want of everything, although public tranquillity is now restored in Great Britain. The regular clergy have a great advantage over us in their colleges abroad, which afford them a refuge in old age, sickness, or misfortune, and where they can remain quietly till they recover their health, or are called out of this life, and then they have the happiness of the prayers of their brethren. But if we go abroad, we are very little better off than we were at home.

I think a college in which priests who might be sick, or enfeebled with age, or younger men not yet accustomed to their functions, could live in community, would be no less advantageous to our Mission than the College at Rome, or that of Paris.

I am informed that the late King intended to establish such an institution. He meant also to arrange for our having a Bishop, without which there can be neither order nor decency in the Church, as all antiquity testifies.

There are many inconveniences we experience now, arising from our paucity of numbers, which would be remedied if we had a single Pastor, who could assign each priest his station, and keep adhering to the one root of unity, by rendering an account of the whole body to the delegates of the Holy See, and giving from time to time information of the progress of the Mission.

I wrote to you fully last year upon all these points.

Now I am afraid I may possibly have gone too far. May their eminences the Cardinals and the other prelates who attend to the propagation of the faith, and who are piously anxious to provide all that is necessary for these missions, do all that is required out of their zeal for the House of God. All good be with you.

Your most affectionate

[*No signature.*]

CHAPTER VI

THE SUFFERINGS CAUSED BY THE REVOLUTION

Introductory Note

During the year 1693 the distress of the missionaries was somewhat mitigated. Some continued in prison, others were allowed out on parole. Some had been close prisoners for three years. The Privy Council offered to set them free if they would submit to perpetual banishment; but this they refused. Thereupon the Council turned in among them thieves, disorderly women and soldiers, by whose vermin and filth they were almost stifled (p. 166).

The missionaries seem to have enjoyed some liberty during the year 1694. At this time some of King James's loyal subjects at his desire were still holding out at the Bass. It served as an asylum to loyalists and to persecuted Catholics. They flocked to it from all parts of the kingdom. Mr Nicolson was sent there to assist the Catholics, but he was taken prisoner with Lord Aboyne, Father Marr, and Father Gordon, and some of them were confined in the Tolbooth (p. 168).

There were seven Irish priests at this time in the Highlands. They had resolved to live and die with their poor people. They had received into the Church many of the principal persons in that country, besides others of the lower class (p. 170).

1696.—In the year 1696 it was reported that the Catholics had entered into a conspiracy against William's person. Many of them were imprisoned. About this time began the "Ill Years" when the crops failed almost entirely (p. 171). The persecution of Catholics went on, and Mr Robert Munro and an Irish priest were imprisoned in Edinburgh. Bishop Nicolson was apprehended with Mr Stuart in November 1696 and remained in prison till the following May (p. 174).

Peace was restored by the treaty of Ryswick, and the Catholics of the three kingdoms hoped to enjoy some respite. Severe laws, however, were published against them. All Catholics and all Jacobites were required to leave the kingdom within seven days (p. 174). Many thousands left Scotland, and great numbers of people, reduced to misery, flocked daily to St Germains in hopes of obtaining some relief from King James (p. 175).

1698.—Remonstrances were made to the Prince of Orange against the cruel penal laws by the Catholic Ambassadors (p. 176). The famine continued and hundreds died of hunger (p. 178).

1699.—The distress of the missionaries increased. In the north they had neither meal, nor seed, nor money, and two-thirds of the people in the northern Highlands died of famine.

The Duke of Gordon and about forty Catholics were sent to prison. Great efforts were made to seduce the young Marquis of Huntly, but to no purpose (p. 179).

1701.—New laws against Catholics, more cruel than any of the former, were enacted in Parliament. All Catholic priests were proscribed, and a reward of 500 marks was promised to anyone who should apprehend a priest (pp. 180, 182). Some Catholics renounced their religion, others wavered. On Holy Saturday, 1701, about midnight, the magistrates of Aberdeen beset the houses of the principal Catholics, seized the altar furniture and all the Catholic books, and made a bonfire of them.

The missionaries retired to the mountains. Seldom could they assemble the people to instruct them and to administer the Sacraments. Bishop Nicolson visited the Mission and almost always had to travel in the night-time (p. 186).

1702.—Parties of soldiers were sent, at the same time, into all places and with very expert guides. Their searches were repeated so often that no priest could stay two nights in one place. One old priest died, being exhausted with fatigue (p. 188). A party of soldiers searched the house of the Countess Leslie of Balquhain. They found no priest there, but they seized the Count himself and brought him a prisoner to Aberdeen (p. 189). The Catholics were never safe, but ever in perpetual terror. They almost despaired (p. 191). William III. died on the 8th of March 1702. Queen Anne succeeded; she was no friend of the Presbyterians, but this made little difference to the Catholics (p. 192).

THOMPSON'S MEMOIRS—*continued.*

1692

Great hopes were entertained by the Catholics, and by the friends of King James, of his restoration this year, in consequence of the vast preparations made on the coast of Normandy for an invasion of England. But the loss of the Battle of La Hogue, and the total destruction of the French fleet, effectually defeated all the plans of Louis XIV., and of King James, and put an end to all hopes or thoughts of a restoration for that time.

It would appear that the distress of the missioners was somewhat mitigated this year. Some continued in prison, others were at liberty on parole, but confined within certain bounds. Among these was Dr Jamieson, who had the town of Aberdeen for his prison. During this confinement he was not idle, but did his duty as a good missioner, serving the Catholics, and administering the Sacraments to them in private. . . .

1693

In the beginning of this year, three of the missioners were still close prisoners, and had been confined in that manner for the space of three years. These were Messrs George Gordon, Robert Davison, and Alexander Crichton. Their sufferings, occasioned by long confinement, want of necessaries and of conveniences, and of money to procure them, were exceeding great. Their friends abroad had applied to the Emperor again and again to procure their liberty; but the representations made by his Ambassador in London were either

little attended to or wanting in vigour. About the beginning of this year the Privy Council in Scotland offered them their liberty, on condition of their subscribing to a sentence of perpetual banishment and finding security for their never returning under pain of death. In their circumstances such a sentence, though severe, seemed desirable; yet these three missioners, thinking that the accepting such a sentence would be an abandoning of the cause of religion and the souls of their countrymen, with a courage and zeal worthy of the primitive martyrs, rejected the offer and chose rather to continue in prison than to obtain their liberty on such terms. The Council was so incensed at their refusal that, ordering them to be more closely confined, they turned in among them thieves and disorderly women and several companies of soldiers, by whose vermin and filth they were almost stifled and consumed. At length, being weary of keeping them in prison, they banished them to the Continent, and they went to Paris, where they resolved to stay some time, in hopes of some favourable opportunity of returning to the Mission. . .

1694

Though the persecution in Scotland was something abated this year, and the missioners were not kept in such continual apprehension and agitation by so strict a search as usual, especially in the north, yet they were still under considerable hardships on account of the difficulties of the times, and the fatigues they were obliged to undergo in assisting the Catholics, after the departure of the four[1] banished priests mentioned above. They had the greatest difficulty in making their

[1] This includes Thomas Nicolson mentioned below.

condition and necessities known to friends abroad, in getting news, and in receiving any relief from them; for all correspondence with France was prohibited, and several persons in London were put in prison for taking up their letters at the Post Office, without showing them to the Privy Council.

All the missioners seem to have been at liberty at this time. Father Fordyce had all Scotland for his prison; Father Fairfoul had Edinburgh and two miles round; Father Seton Edinburgh and twelve miles round. The Duke of Gordon and the Earl of Seaforth were confined in the Castle of Edinburgh. The Lord Chancellor had retired to Antwerp with his lady, where he lived very privately and cautiously, as he had spies set over him; and before his departure from Britain, he was obliged to give bail for five thousand pounds sterling that he would not go to France, nor have any correspondence with any one in the French dominions.

At this time there were four banished priests at Paris, viz.—Messrs Gordon, Crichton, and Davison, who were sent to the Continent in the preceding year, and Mr Nicolson, who had come over some time before; and he alone returned to the country this year. It must be observed that at the time of the Revolution, several of King James's loyal subjects retired to the Bass; which, as it was a strong place by its nature and situation, they held for His Majesty, in hopes of his restoration, or of better times. It served also as an asylum for loyalists and persecuted Catholics, who flocked to it from all parts of the kingdom. Notwithstanding the forces sent against it, and several attempts to take it made by the Prince of Orange's ships, they were constantly defeated, and obliged to

raise the siege.[1] The fort received succour and provisions from France from time to time; and King James was very anxious about keeping possession of it, and by his express orders, in a vessel that sailed from Dunkirk in March with assistance for them, Mr Nicolson was sent to encourage them, and to assist the Catholics there. But it seems that before his arrival the people in the Bass had capitulated, and that he returned to France and set out again for Scotland; for I find him taken in a vessel that had brought over the Bass people to France and sailed from Dunkirk on the 14th of August. In the same vessel, Father Marr, Father Gordon, another Jesuit, and Lord Aboyne were made prisoners, and carried to London, and brought before a magistrate, one Johnson, who behaved civilly to them, and after examination, put them in the custody of a messenger who gave them leave to go about the city on their own affairs. Soon after they were sent to Scotland, and examined again, when Lord Aboyne was consigned to Stirling Castle, and the Jesuits with Mr Nicolson were confined in Edinburgh Tolbooth. The other three priests, Messrs Gordon, Crichton, and Davison, were in great difficulties on their arrival in Paris, being

[1] There, early in June 1691, were imprisoned four young Jacobite officers, captured at Cromdale. These young gentlemen observed that, on the arrival of vessels with supplies, most of the garrison went to assist at the landing. On one occasion, when the inmates of the fortress were thus employed, they seized their opportunity, shut the gates, and found themselves in possession of one of the strongest fortresses in Scotland. On this bleak and desolate Bass Rock, they passed a romantic and picturesque time, and, having received ammunition and provisions from France, employed themselves in making plundering excursions to the coast, captured sheep on the Isle of May, and seized trading vessels. Not till April, 1694, did the gallant little garrison capitulate, and most of its occupants sailed for France. (Memoirs of Blackader, quoted by M. G. J. Kinloch, *Studies in Ecclesiastical Scottish History*, p. 252.)

in want of everything, and without clothes or linen. They were obliged to depend for their subsistence on the charity of their countrymen in the Scots' College, and on the trifle that King James could bestow on them. . . .

The missioners in the Lowlands continued to assist the Catholics with as much care and caution as their circumstances and imperative secrecy would allow. In the Highlands, the condition of both missioners and Catholics was rather better than in the Lowlands; for owing to their retired situation and the little communication between the Highlands and the Lowlands and their being at a distance from the courts of law, the persecution did not rage there with the same violence, nor were priests sought after with such diligence, nor any of them apprehended. But they suffered a great deal from fatigue and poverty, and from sickness contracted by want of all conveniences, and from the continual journeys and pains of mind and body, their brethren in the low country not having been able to afford them any relief since the Revolution.

1694

There were at this time in the Highlands seven Irish priests who had come to the country some time before the Revolution, viz.—Messrs Devoyer, Ryan, Cahasy, Morgan, Carolan, Hamat, and Harnett. These seven priests, notwithstanding the hardships they laboured under, continued firm and constant to their stations with great zeal during the Revolution, and having contracted an attachment to the country and people by their long residence among them, were resolved that they would live and die with their poor

people, as well to satisfy their own conscience before God, as to give them a good example; as they thought it hard to abandon their flocks, when they had most need of their assistance. And they reaped the fruits of their labours and zeal in the satisfaction they had in the constancy and spiritual advancement of their people, and in numerous conversions. They served the people with great zeal, in poverty, in want, and hardships for six or seven years, receiving scarcely any assistance, and as they were confined in an isolated country, and all correspondence with France had been interrupted for so many years, they had no means of making known their necessities to friends at Paris or Rome, or of receiving any relief or comfort from them. But this year they thought proper to send Mr Morgan to Paris to represent their condition and needs. Mr Morgan, having arrived at Paris, wrote to Mr Leslie at Rome. He writes that they had received into the Church many of the principal persons in that country, besides others of the lower classes, and that it seemed almost a miracle to see people, accustomed *vivere rapto,* so much changed that they found it more necessary to moderate their ardour and quiet the scruples of their consciences than to exhort them to a good life and penitential works. He adds that neither wars, nor the calamity of the times, nor the tyranny of their oppressors, had been able to shake their constancy; that neither the old Catholics, nor the converts were ashamed of their religion in time of persecution; that some of them, having been tied to the stake, and massacred because they were discovered to be Catholics by beads and other signs of their religion found about them, their last words, after recommending themselves to Almighty God, were that now was the time to profess their

religion; and that others, to the number of forty and upwards, had been most cruelly murdered in their beds in the dead of night, by the very soldiers whom a short time before they had harboured in their houses. This alludes to the massacre of Glencoe, which left an indelible stain on King William and his court. He himself used his best endeavours at Paris to induce some of his countrymen there to accompany him on his return to Scotland to serve on the Mission. . . .

1696

This year Messrs Adamson and Carnegie departed from the College at Rome for the Mission, and stopped at Paris as usual, till they should be informed of the state of the country, and find a proper opportunity to go over to Britain. Messrs More and Stuart were still in Paris, and were preparing to depart; but a new plot being trumped up in England put a stop to their design.

It was pretended that many of the Catholics had entered into a conspiracy against William's person. Many Catholics were imprisoned in England, and some suffered for this sham plot.

This plot furnished the enemies of the Catholics in Scotland with a pretext to renew the persecution against them, and many gentlemen were seized and imprisoned. But after having been sometime confined, they were set at liberty on bail. . . .

To the other sufferings of the Catholics and calamities of the times was added this year that of famine, for about this time began those years which are known in Scotland by the name of the *Ill Years*, when the crop failed almost entirely for six or seven years successively. The distress of the country was very

great, many families were ruined, and many persons actually died of want. Meal sold at twenty pounds Scottish per boll. But the sufferings of the missioners and Catholics are easier to be conceived than described. For besides their share in the common calamity, they were harassed with persecution. I have mentioned above the plot forged in England. From this the Presbyterians, and especially their ministers, who reigned in Scotland, took occasion to persecute the Catholics, and to search for priests, but fortunately only two were apprehended, and these were Mr Robert Munro, who had served twenty-five years on the Mission, and an Irish priest. The ministers had conceived a great spite against Mr Munro, on account of the many conversions and the great success he had in the Highlands, and took the first opportunity to seize him. After using him and his comrade very ill, they sent them to Edinburgh, where they were confined. After some time, they banished Mr Munro to Flanders, threatening him with death if ever he returned to the country. The Irish priest, having fallen sick, continued in prison. . . .

In October of this year, Bishop Nicolson,[1] who was then in Germany, was informed by his correspondent in Holland that he might safely pass over to the north of England, as a fleet and convoy were in a short time to sail from Holland. Therefore he resolved to embrace the opportunity, and went to Holland, where it appears that he met with Mr Stuart from Paris, who had come hither also in hopes of getting a passage to Britain; and they embarked together. I have not been able to learn the precise time of their departure from Holland, nor the particulars of their voyage, nor the place where

[1] Mr Nicolson was consecrated bishop in February 1695.

they landed; but they were scarce arrived on English ground, when they were both arrested on suspicion, with several other persons who went over with that fleet. Mr Lewis Innes, in a letter to Mr Leslie at Rome, dated the 23rd of December, informs him that by the latest accounts he had received they were both in the pursuivant's custody. So hard a fate did the good Bishop meet with in the beginning.

This year all the belligerent powers, being heartily tired and exhausted with a tedious war, began to talk of a general peace. King James was afraid that his interests would be sacrificed at the peace, and therefore the Duke of Perth, by his orders, wrote very strongly to several Cardinals at Rome to apply to his Holiness to recommend to the Courts of Vienna and Madrid the interests of his master and of the Catholic religion in Britain, and to use all the influence which he possessed as Head of the Church to get them secured at the general peace. A very strongly worded memorial in favour of King James was also circulated at Rome and at the other courts, representing the injustice done to him and his family, and the irreparable damage done to the Catholic religion by an usurpation supported by Catholic powers. But what remonstrances were made had but little effect, for at the peace as little regard was paid to the interests of the Catholic religion and of King James, as had been paid to them during the war. Here I will conclude the year 1696; for I find no memoirs of any other transactions relative to the Mission.

1697

Bishop Nicolson and Mr Stuart were still in prison at the beginning of this year, but there was some hope

of getting them out on bail, and in fact Mr Stuart was set at large. But some rascal having made an affidavit against the Bishop, he continued in custody; however, in the month of March, he also was got out on bail, and after appearing once or twice to be examined, his bail was discharged about the middle of May, and he was left at liberty. He departed from London on the 26th of that same month for the north. Before he left London, he was warned by friends to be on his guard, as there were orders to apprehend him if he should enter Scotland, yet he resolved to go thither without delay, and he arrived in Edinburgh in June, where he was received by the Catholics with the greatest joy and satisfaction. But he himself was very sensibly affected to see the deplorable condition of the country. His stay at Edinburgh was very short, and he hastened north to meet the missionaries, as most of them lived in that part of the kingdom. He arrived safe at Gordon Castle, and for some time made that place, with the Enzie and Moray, his principal residence. . . .

1698

The Catholics of the three kingdoms were flattering themselves with the hope of finding some respite after the peace was made,[1] but on the contrary they began to be more persecuted than ever. The most severe laws against them were published in the three realms, and were rigorously put into execution. In the beginning of the year a proclamation was sent out, ordering all Catholics, Jacobites, and suspected persons, under pain of high treason, to leave the kingdom within seven days from the date of the order. In it

[1] Treaty of Ryswick, 20th September 1697.

were comprehended all those who had left the three kingdoms to follow the fortunes of King James since the year 1688, and all those who had served in the armies of Louis XIV. during the war, and also women and children. In consequence of this barbarous decree, many thousands were obliged to leave their country, and take refuge in foreign parts. Great numbers of people who had lost their all, and were reduced to misery and want, flocked daily to St Germains in hopes of relief, the sight of whom pierced the hearts of the King and Queen,[1] who were not in a condition to relieve them. To render them less capable of assisting the exiles, King William had the cruelty to withhold the queen's dowry, which he had promised to pay, and which had been confirmed by Act of Parliament. Nay, through his ambassador, Bentinck, he pressed the King of France to banish King James and his queen and children out of France; but Louis XIV. answered very generously, that if they chose to reside at Versailles rather than at St Germains, they would be very welcome.

Not content with the said proclamation, King William and his court were every day contriving new acts and penalties to oppress the poor Catholics. An act was drafted in Ireland, and sent over for approbation, entitled, "An Act for the more speedy reducing of Ireland to conform to the Established Church"; by which Catholics were to be forced to go to Protestant churches, or lose their estates, or be banished. But a proclamation more cruel and severe than all these was published at Edinburgh on the 4th of March of

[1] The names of many of those exiles have been preserved in the *Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee*, by an Officer of the Army. London, 1711, in 12mo.

this year, entitled, "A Proclamation anent seminary Priests, Jesuits, and trafficking Papists," by which all former penal laws against Catholics were renewed and confirmed. All magistrates, sheriffs, and justices of the peace were strictly ordered to search for and apprehend all Jesuits and trafficking Papists, and to transport them to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, where the magistrates were to detain them till they were banished or punished. They were also to send to the Privy Council a list of the names of the resetters of priests and Jesuits, and of the names of popish pedagogues, school masters and mistresses; and all this under pain of being punished if they were found to be negligent in their duty.

When remonstrances were made by Catholic Ambassadors to the Prince of Orange against these cruel laws, his answer was that all the Acts passed, and to be passed, against Catholics were only contrived to please zealous Protestants in England, and were not to be put in execution. When new Acts were every day made and passed, his answer was that he was then in Holland, but that he would correct all in the execution. When, in virtue of these Acts, people were daily banished, persecuted, and reduced to the necessity of starving, his answer was that it was law, and that he could not hinder the execution of the laws of the land. Thus did the cruel and unfeeling persecutor and his ministry sport with the miseries of the poor Catholics; and the case of those in Scotland was still worse than that of the English Catholics, as in Scotland the Presbyterian party, whose spite against the Catholics was more inveterate and more unrelenting, had got the power in their hands. Immediately a new persecution was begun, a search was made to

apprehend the missioners, many of whom were obliged to abscond; but I do not find that any of the clergy were taken. Father Fordyce and Father Fairfoul were taken in England.[1] Mr Strachan and Mr Stuart at Aberdeen narrowly escaped the pursuit of their enemies, and lost some chattels, which fell into their hands. Those in the south lived in continual apprehension, while those in the north enjoyed more peace and tranquillity. The Bishop did not reside in one place, but was continually travelling about, assisting, exhorting, and encouraging the missioners and Catholics, and administering the Sacrament of Confirmation. Besides the smart of persecution, another event happened this year, which gave a very sensible concern to the Catholics, which was the apostasy of Lord Aboyne. He had lived among the Jesuits some years, and had made his religious vows; but soon after his return to Scotland, he married his own cousin-german, without asking a dispensation from his vows, or from the impediment of consanguinity, and abjured his religion, which gave great scandal, as the Protestants gave out that he, being a religious and learned man, had abandoned the Catholic religion, because he had the opportunity to be better informed of the superstitions. Lady Betty Dalziel, daughter of the Earl of Carnworth, who had been a zealous Catholic to the age of twenty years, also forsook her religion, and joined the Presbyterians.

In the Highlands, at the desire of the ministers, many gentlemen's houses were garrisoned, and these little garrisons, being nine in number, caused great annoyance to the missioners and Catholics in those places. What added still more to their sufferings was

[1] *Cf.* Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii., p. 108.

that the bad seasons, scarcity of victuals, and downright famine, still continued, and hundreds died of mere hunger, especially in the Highlands, and it was feared that the famine would be followed by a plague. Meal at that time was twenty pounds Scots per boll. If the sufferings of the Catholics at home were very great, those of the banished Catholics abroad were no less. Their numbers and their misery still increased at St Germains. There were no fewer than five thousand Catholics from the three kingdoms at Paris and St Germains, besides many others in different parts of France; the most of them starving for want of bread. The very sight of such a multitude reduced to such misery for their religion and attachment to King James, was a most sensible grief to him and to his queen, and what gave them more pain was that they had not wherewith to relieve them. The queen sold part of her jewels to clothe and feed them.

1699

The distresses of the missioners and Catholics were very great this year, on account of the famine and persecutions which still continued. In the north country they had neither meal, nor seed, nor money. Two-thirds of the land was left untilled, and two-thirds of the people in the north Highlands died of famine and of distemper contracted through it in the following years.

With regard to persecution, Catholics in the north enjoyed more peace than those in the south; for these last were frequently searched for, or were exposed to some disturbance which obliged the missioners to

abscond, and proved a great loss and discouragement to Catholics and to converts. On Low Sunday about sixty Catholics, having gone to the Duke of Gordon's [1] lodgings to hear Mass, the magistrate, at the instigation of the ministers, sent a party of soldiers to the house, where they made a strict search for the priest; but luckily he made his escape. They then seized the men to the number of thirty or forty, and sent them to prison, where some of them were detained a long time, and others let out on bail. They suffered the women to depart, after having taken down their names, and their promise to appear when called for. The Duke was summoned to appear before the Privy Council as if he had been guilty of a great crime, and he was charged with a new crime for attempting to excuse what had happened, and was sent to prison that very day, and remained in confinement for many weeks. He was not at liberty, either, to send the Marquis abroad for his education; and it seems that the court had appointed a governor for him to whom he was tied against his will, whose company was dangerous both to his faith and his virtue. This governor was a Protestant, and a very debauched fellow. There was a design to convey the Marquis privately over to France, and Mr Carnegie was sent to London to get this effected, and to accompany him; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, Carnegie did not succeed at this time.

[1] George Gordon, 4th Marquis of Huntly and first Duke of Gordon, went about the age of eighteen to France, where he completed his education in a Catholic seminary. Afterwards, he travelled in Italy, Germany, and Hungary. In 1673 he joined the French army, and served with Turenne. He married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the sixth Duke of Norfolk, and afterwards returned to Scotland. Although he declined to approve without reserve of James's policy, he held Edinburgh Castle for James II. till the 14th of June 1689.

1700

The Prince of Orange and his Council were contriving new laws against the Catholics, and the Scots Parliament was imitating their example. They sat for a long time, and their principal employment was to settle the Presbyterian government and discipline, and to make laws against Popery. Lists were given in to them of the priests in the country, and a search was ordered; some of them narrowly escaped, among the rest Mr Carnegie, but I do not find that any of them were taken. Nevertheless, they were obliged to conceal themselves, and to act with great caution, and both missionaries and laymen suffered considerably. Among the latter the Duke of Gordon was the principal object of their spite, on account of his influence, and of his being a support to the poor Catholics. The Marquis, his son, was still in London, and exposed to great temptations. Several attempts were made to seduce him, and among others Bishop Burnet was employed, who paid him several visits, and tried all his weapons and arts, but to no purpose, for the Marquis, by the grace of God, resisted manfully, and continued firm in his faith. The Duke encouraged him frequently by letters, and employed persons of piety and learning in London to watch over his conduct, and to guard him against the snares of his enemies. An information was lodged by the rabble in the Privy Council against several Catholics in Edinburgh, and some of them were apprehended, and put in prison for examination, where they continued for some time. Father Innes,[1] a Jesuit,

[1] James Innes, born on the 15th of November 1652, entered the Society at Tournay in 1676. In 1686 he was sent to the Scotch Mission, where he laboured with great energy and fervour, and won over many souls. He

was taken in Galloway, and imprisoned at Dumfries, and after some time set at liberty, on condition of going into banishment. In the north, the Catholics who had been apprehended were set free, and told that if they behaved discreetly, the laws would not be put into execution against them.

1701

The Catholic religion in Scotland since the Reformation had suffered many long and severe storms and persecutions. Many severe laws had been passed

was soon denounced as a traitor and apprehended by a furious mob. He would have been shot if it had not been that a nobleman coming up to the spot, though a rigid Calvinist, rescued him from the insane fury of the crowd, declaring that no man ought to be put to death in that manner, but should be brought to trial in proper form before a regular court of justice. Accordingly, by order of this nobleman, and some other persons in authority, he was put into prison, where several other priests were detained in close captivity. Here he was frequently exposed to great danger of his life, as were also his fellow prisoners, for the Calvinists, thinking themselves cheated of their prey, made several attempts to break into the prison and murder the inmates. They made use of an atrocious stratagem to bring general odium upon the Catholics, for they set fire to some houses, and spread a report that this had been done by Catholics in order to affect the liberation of the prisoners. On this account he was transferred to the prison of Edinburgh, from thence to the Bass Rock, and thence to Blackness, a very unhealthy situation, where he was detained for two years. From this prison he was at length released at the request of some of the principal Catholic nobility, and returning to Douay he resumed for a time the functions of minister and procurator. He returned again to Scotland animated with fresh zeal, but was again imprisoned, and having undergone many hardships, was compelled to withdraw to Douay. His zeal for souls did not allow him to remain at rest; with renewed strength and increased acquirements, he returned to Scotland a third time, and being a third time taken and imprisoned, he was at length sent into banishment for life, to be hanged if he returned. Yielding to force he retired in 1723 to Douay, where he spent the remainder of his life in the Scots' College, first as Procurator and then as Rector. He died at Douay, on the 18th of August 1729, at the age of seventy-five.—*Van Hulthem MSS.*, Brussels, No. 562.

against the professors of it, and repeated attempts made to extirpate it altogether. Nevertheless, by the help of God, it still maintained its ground. But especially during the last twelve years since the Revolution, the persecution the Catholics had undergone was so long that they flattered themselves that at last the malice of their enemies would be satiated or wearied out, and that they would meet with some respite after so long and severe a trial. But, instead of that, new laws against Catholics, more cruel and inhuman than any of the former, were enacted in Parliament in the beginning of this year, and were put into execution with such strictness and severity, that it seemed as if both the court and private persons had nothing less in view than to extirpate the Catholics and the Catholic religion out of Scotland.

In the first place, all Catholic priests were proscribed, and a reward of five hundred marks promised to any one who should apprehend a priest, and deliver him into the hands of a magistrate. To render this law more effectual, a power was given to apprehend any Catholic reputed to be a priest; and to convict him of being a priest, no other proof was required than if he refused to abjure his religion; upon which conviction he was to be banished out of the kingdom, with the assurance that if he returned, he should be punished with death. Secondly, it was enacted that if any one after the promulgation of these laws should become a Catholic, he should forfeit all his possessions, which were to belong to the nearest Protestant heir, or be confiscated to the Crown. Thirdly, that unless all Catholics in Scotland, as soon as they came to the age of fifteen, subscribed to the formula, they should forfeit all their possessions to the nearest Protestant heir; and

that no Catholic should be capable of any inheritance, donation, or purchase, or have any right to acquire or possess any annual rent. Fourthly, that no person should employ any Catholic servant under penalty of five hundred marks, and that no Catholic should be capable of any trust or management, or of being a school-master, tutor, or agent. Fifthly, that if any Papists were found together in any private house, and if in that private house there should be found vestments, altar-cloths, pictures, or articles pertaining to Popish worship, the persons so apprehended should be reputed as sayers or hearers of Mass, and incur the penalties thereof without further proof required. Sixthly, that no Papist having heritage should have power to dispose of any part thereof to his children, or to his friends, being Papists; that all such disposal was to be null and void; that it should be lawful for the next heir apparent or nearest of kin, being Protestant, to brook and possess the same; and if he or she refused, that the next to him or her should succeed; but if the Papist became Protestant he should be reponed in his estate, but without having the right to call the Protestant to account for intromissions. Finally, that the children of Catholics, being minors, should be taken from their parents and put into the hands of Protestants to be educated, and the parents be obliged to pay for their education and maintenance according to their station.

Such cruel and severe laws against Catholics had never before been heard of in Britain. These laws resembled more the edicts of a Diocletian against the first Christians than laws made in a Christian country. They not only deprived Roman Catholics of their privileges as citizens, but even of the natural rights of mankind. They are looked upon with horror at this

day by the moderate and tolerating, and no one ever thought of making an apology for them, except the Protestant Committee at Edinburgh, to the great disgrace of the nation and of humanity.

No sooner were these laws promulgated than it appeared how dire were the effects to be apprehended from them. Some Catholics renounced their religion, others wavered, all trembled for themselves, and few Protestants durst think of being reconciled to the Church. The execution of these laws was committed principally to magistrates and judges, and others who held commission from the Crown; but in some degree, all persons were authorised to carry them out, and the Presbyterian ministers were particularly active in stirring up both public officials and private persons to put them in force, and soon after the publication of the laws they began the persecution.

The first who signalised themselves were the magistrates of Aberdeen. On Holy Saturday of this year, about midnight, they beset the houses of the principal Catholics, where they suspected that Mass would be said on the following day. They flattered themselves that in some of them they would find a priest, and that at such an hour he would not escape them. It happened that a Benedictine missioner was hearing confession in one of these houses at that very time, who very providentially escaped out of their hands. They had already broken into the house, and were going straight to the room where he was, before the people within discovered who they were, or what they wanted; but he, being alarmed by the noise, had just time to retire to concealment, which, luckily, was provided for in case of such unexpected visits. But as there was not time to remove the Altar fittings, the

magistrates seized them, and all the Catholic books they could find, and made a bonfire of them. They were so enraged, seeing the priest had made his escape, that they banished out of the city the Catholic in whose house they found the vestments and books, and forced him to seek for himself a habitation elsewhere, notwithstanding his age and infirm state of health. This gentleman was Cavinfield, and he and his wife went to Peterhead.

Not long after, in the month of June, Mr Anthony Morgan, an Irish missionary in the Highlands, was apprehended by the commander of one of the parties stationed there. He immediately sent him to Edinburgh in hopes of receiving the reward of five hundred marks. But as the Commissioners of the Treasury put off paying the premium under one pretext or another, the Presbyterian ministers made a collection to reward him for his trouble, and to encourage others to imitate such worthy feats. Mr Morgan was cast into prison, and after lying there, and suffering much, was brought to his trial, and banished under pain of death, if he returned to the country. He sailed for France, but with the intention of returning as soon as an opportunity offered.

From that time, the persecution never ceased for some years in the Highlands, where formerly priests and Catholics enjoyed more tranquillity than in any other part of the kingdom; but now there were so many parties of soldiers stationed in different parts of the country, and so keen were they in searching for priests and Catholics, that they were nowhere safe, not even in the remote islands. Nevertheless, I do not find any account of any other priest, except Mr Morgan, being taken this year; but they were all

obliged to live very retired, and to change their quarters often; some of them had to withdraw to the mountains; and they all suffered great hardships and distress. The people also were great sufferers, as they had their share in the persecution, though the priests were the principal objects of it. Both religion and the people also suffered very much on another account, as the missionaries could but very seldom assemble their flocks, and then very privately, in order to instruct and exhort them, and to administer the Sacraments.

Bishop Nicolson, soon after his arrival in the country, began his visit of the Mission, that he might see with his own eyes the state of religion in the whole kingdom. He exhorted and instructed the people in these visits, administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, inquired into the necessities of each station, and prescribed such remedies as circumstances would allow. He had now visited every place where there were Catholics, except Galloway, and he resolved this year to visit that country. . . .

Of all the Presbyterians in Scotland, those of Galloway were the most bigoted against Catholics, and therefore the Bishop was obliged to proceed with great caution. He almost always travelled in the night-time, and assembled the people frequently, but few at a time, when he preached and gave Confirmation. It may appear something extraordinary, that after all these visitations and journeys of the Bishop through Scotland, although the character and functions of a bishop, after so long an interruption, could not but strike Protestants on his first appearance, and become the subject of conversation, as many of them knew all about him, his functions and journeys, yet no in-

formation was ever lodged against him, either in Parliament or the Privy Council, or in any other court. This was owing under God to his prudence and modest behaviour, and to his charity and goodness towards all, by which he gained the goodwill and affection even of the Protestants.

There were in the Mission this year, twenty-five missionaries immediately under the Bishop. They were stationed as follows: Messrs O'Sheil and M'Phie in Uist; Messrs Carolan and Heachean in Barra, but Mr Carolan was *non agendo;* Mr Hara in the little isles Eigg, Rum, and Canna; Mr Cahassy in Morar; Mr Laggan in Moidart; Mr M'Lellan in Knoydart; Mr Munro in Glengarry and Strathglass; Mr Kennedy in Glenlivet and Strathaven; Mr Dunbar at Gordon Castle; Mr James Gordon and Mr Donaldson in the Enzie; Mr Robert Gordon and Mr Moir in Strathbogie; Mr Alexander Leslie in Banff (he seems to have stayed with the Duchess of Gordon, who lived there with her mother-in-law after her separation from the Duke); Father Reid, Benedictine, at Fyvie; Mr Strachan and Father Abercrombie, Benedictine, at Aberdeen and Deeside; Mr Guthrie at Arbroath; Mr Stuart in Angus; Mr Drummond in Perthshire; Mr Carnegie and Father Mackie at Edinburgh; and Mr Alexander Irvine at Traquair.

Besides these, there were three school-masters: one in Arisaig, who had this year above thirty scholars of the best gentlemen's children in the Highlands; one in Uist, and another in Barra.

1702

This year began with a most violent persecution, both in the Highlands and Lowlands. Orders were

sent from the Privy Council by the instigation of the ministers to the soldiers stationed in the Highlands to make a diligent search for priests and school-masters, and to apprehend them. The soldiers were so zealous in executing these orders that the Highlands never experienced such a persecution since the subversion of the Catholic religion. They did not content themselves with searching once or twice as formerly; but parties were sent at the same time into all places, with guides very expert and well informed about all the remotest corners of the country; and their searches were repeated so often that no priest could stay two nights in one place without imminent danger of being taken. It is not easy to conceive what hardships the poor missioners underwent at that season of the year, while they were skulking in the mountains, and moving from place to place to avoid falling into the hands of their pursuers. Hunger, cold, nakedness, and fatigue were their constant portion. One of them, an old man, was an object of pity above the rest. Being quite spent with weariness and old age, he was reduced to such weakness that he soon expired. Another caught a dropsy through distress and unwholesome food. The principal school-master was so closely pursued that, after changing his quarters frequently, he was obliged to fly the country, and retire to Inverness, where he arrived after a most dangerous and fatiguing journey in the dead of winter, over mountains and rivers covered with snow and ice.

About the same time, there were great rumours and threats of a persecution against all the priests in the Lowlands; nor was it long till they were put in execution. Parties of soldiers were sent by the Privy Council to the North country, where the Catholics

BALQUHAIN CASTLE.

From Sir A. Hay's "Castellated Architecture of Aberdeenshire.

were most numerous. The first exploit they performed was to search the house of the Countess Leslie of Balquhain. They found no priest there, but they seized the Count himself, and brought him prisoner to Aberdeen. Providentially none of the missioners fell into the hands of any of the parties; for they skulked in the night-time in the mountains or other inaccessible places, and in the day-time they returned to their flocks, and privately performed their functions. The Privy Council took occasion to begin this persecution from the zeal of the Countess of Seaforth. She had met with a trial, keenly felt by a mother and a Catholic. The Earl, her only son, a boy of fifteen years of age, immediately after the death of his father, was wrested out of her hands, and delivered to Protestant relations of the family to be educated; and among so many Protestants, his religion, considering his youth, was in the greatest danger. The Countess resolved to rescue him if possible from a danger so imminent, and she formed her plans so well that she stole him out of the hands of his relations, and sent him to the Continent, on the 11th of October, before they were aware; although she knew very well how severely this was forbidden by the laws, and to what great danger she exposed herself. As soon as this was known, the relations were highly incensed; they made a great clamour, and lodged a complaint before the Privy Council, and uttered great threats both against the boy's mother and against all the Catholics, who were in great terror for fear of the consequences. A party was sent to apprehend Count Leslie, on suspicion that he had advised the Countess to steal away her son. But providentially the fury of this persecution received a check from an event which happened at this time, viz.,

the death of the Prince of Orange in March of this year. In the month of April following, there was some disturbance in Galloway, caused by the private authority of one or two ministers. A party of the common people being wrought up to madness by their furious declamations against the Catholics, began to terrify the Catholics with threats, and desirous to signalise their zeal against Papists by some noble action, they dug out of the grave the bodies of two Catholics who had been buried for some time, and threw them about to be devoured by dogs and wild beasts. Providentially they did not hurt the living much; for as they did not find many to join them, their fury abated, and they dispersed.

The above facts may serve as a specimen of the sufferings of the Catholics, both in the Highlands and in the Lowlands. But in general over the whole kingdom they suffered very much from the unabating spite of their enemies. The ministers continually declaimed against them, and raised the people to a degree of fury and madness. Complaints and information were every day lodged in the Privy Council by the ministers and others, that Popish priests were flocking every day into the kingdom from foreign countries; that they had the assurance to erect schools and to preach Popery publicly; that the number of Papists was daily increasing; that the bulk of the nation would go over to the Papists, unless the magistrates took some effectual course to prevent it. Such complaints, however groundless, were easily admitted without examination. Hence proceeded the orders sent to the soldiers stationed in different parts of the country, which they were very active in executing, and the strict searches they made for priests. Hence came

the outcries and plots of the ministers and others against them; for all ranks seemed to have their eyes fixed on the poor Catholics, to conspire to their ruin. Thus Catholics were never safe, never quiet, but ever in perpetual terror; either experiencing the smart of persecution, or labouring under the apprehension of it. The consequences that followed were very alarming. Some Catholics renounced their faith altogether; others became cold and indifferent. The priests were frequently obliged to abscond, and always to perform their functions in private; and though they underwent a great deal of fatigue, they could do but little good. The schools were either shut up altogether, or removed from place to place, which was always attended with great loss and inconvenience. This persecution was of but short duration, but it was perhaps the most severe the Catholics ever felt; and both the missioners and people trembled for the Catholic religion in Scotland. For when they considered the severity of the laws lately enacted against Catholics, the rigour with which they were put into execution, and the penalties to which Catholics were subjected, the most judicious among them were afraid that, if the persecution continued, in a few years the very name of Catholic would be extinguished in Scotland, unless Providence should be pleased by a kind of miracle to interpose in their behalf. The Protestants certainly were persuaded that the Catholic religion would soon be extirpated, and boasted openly that by the late laws they had laid the axe to the root, and that if these laws had been enacted forty or fifty years before, there would not have survived to this time so much as the memory of Catholics in Scotland. But they were mistaken in their

reckoning, and disappointed in their sanguine expectations. The hopes of a change of government, and of a Catholic king ascending the throne of Britain contributed to support the Catholics, and on the other hand the fear of this event restrained Protestants in some degree from putting the laws in execution with such cruelty. The death of King William, which happened very seasonably at this time, considerably cooled the zeal of the Presbyterians, and gave them something else to think of; for Queen Anne, who succeeded to the throne, was well known as being no friend to them. The Jacobites were put into place by her, and the Whigs dismissed. The Episcopals in Scotland made interest with her and her ministry for the restoration of Episcopacy, and were well received; and it is thought that she would have actually restored bishops, if the war she soon engaged in and the desire of bringing about the union between the two kingdoms had not obliged her to court the Scots. The Presbyterians, however, trembled for themselves, and though the succession to the Crown had been settled by King William, yet, as they did not know for certain, considering the state of parties in the nation, what changes might happen, or who might succeed to her, they lived rather uneasy in the beginning of her reign, and were more intent on securing their own church government than on persecuting the Catholics, which gave the latter some respite. But with regard to the interest of the Catholic religion, it made but little difference whether the Episcopals or Presbyterians were uppermost; for, though the Episcopals were of a milder disposition than the Presbyterians, yet the Catholics had found by experience that whichever of the two parties was in power,

they were always persecuted. Besides, such was the nature of the recent laws, that without the help of ministers or magistrates, they in some measure executed themselves, as they armed their own relations against the Catholics, who, unless they abjured their religion, forfeited their estates.

Report of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus for the year 1702 (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

Alexander Macra writes as follows: "The district in which I have worked now for several years, is a tract of country twelve miles in length, broken up by many gulfs or firths both to the north and south, and containing a considerable number of villages. It is divided into two parishes, one held by a Presbyterian, the other by an Episcopalian minister, both alike extremely hostile to me and to the name of Catholic. There are under my charge about seven hundred souls, of whom three hundred and forty have by the mercy of God, and my labour for what it is worth, been brought into the bosom of our holy Mother the Church. It may be said of all the people of this district that they are industrious, fond of work, and patient in it, and inclined to good. If ever any disagreement occurs between Catholics, it is at once referred to the missionary, who settles the question with the aid of two or more assessors, according to the gravity of the matter in dispute, and no instance has been known for nine years of any one appealing from his decision to a secular court.

"The wealth of this country consists chiefly in cattle, and most of the people follow their flocks and herds for

the greater part of the year. I cannot track them in the mountains and forests without the greatest difficulty, and if I find them, I find with them very little of the comforts of life. The huts they live in are so low and narrow that they will barely hold their families, and I am often obliged to sleep in the open air, even in very cold weather. In the summer time we all live upon butter, cheese, and milk, and I am fortunate if I get a little oat-cake, not always well baked. Meat is rarely eaten, though the region abounds with oxen and sheep, and very little work is done during the Lenten fast, and indeed on these and other fasting days it is considered a penance to live on eggs. But enough of our mode of life.

"For the piety of these people, it is a joy to me, and would be to anyone, to see the ardour of mind and soul with which they worship God. They are often glad to walk eight or ten miles on a Sunday or festival to hear Mass and a sermon, nor will even persecution hinder them from joining in this public worship. Scarcely a Sunday passes without some of them coming to the holy Table. They never pass me without going down on their knees, and asking my blessing, unless they suspect some of the heterodox are in sight, whose testimony might bring themselves or me into danger. When anyone is taken ill, the first care is to send for the spiritual physician, whatever the distance may be. I have never once seen anyone die without feeling the strongest consolation when I witnessed their perfect submission of will to the Will of God, their patience, even in extreme suffering, their piety in receiving the Sacraments of the Church, the ardour with which they ask for the prayers of those present, and I always feel this a sufficient reward for all the labour and trouble I

have undergone. They set great store by holy water, sprinkling with it both men and beasts when diseased, and generally with success. Not to mention other cases, a gentleman who was a heretic, but who had a sister who was a good and pious Catholic, lost the use of his mind two years ago, and in lucid intervals was often heard to say that he should never recover his faculties until his sister had given him holy water to drink. His sister, learning this, went to him, and complied with his request. His mind recovered at once, and in two days he was quite well again.

"The two ministers of whom I have spoken above do not cease to annoy me in every way they can, and threaten my people, but in spite of them, forty persons abjured heresy, and embraced, and made public profession of the Catholic Faith last Easter."

John Innes writes as follows: "For nearly fifteen years I have been wandering over different parts of this, my native country, with what difficulty, hardship, and peril He only knows, Who knows all things. I have had to accommodate myself to the manners and customs of the rudest and most uncouth country people, to be hid in caverns or in forests, and to travel at night, and in winter nights, over mountains, rocks, and through woods, over the most difficult roads, often without guide or companion, not without peril to my life. And not unfrequently when tired out by these journeys, whether by night or day, I have had to lie down without food or drink in barns or stables among the brute animals, upon a little straw, or sometimes on the hard, bare earth. It cost me immense toil and much time to learn to speak the extremely difficult language of this country, but by God's favour I am master of it now,

and can get through all the duties of my office by means of it. My business in these parts has given me, and is giving me still, the greatest possible anxiety, has caused and causes me many vigils and much toil. What disguises have I not worn, what arts have I not professed! Now master, now servant, now musician, now painter, now brass-worker, now clock-maker, now physician, I have endeavoured to be all to all, that I might save all. I found that such skill as I had acquired in the medical art was most useful for the purpose I had in view, and I have cultivated and used it most generally. But while it readily obtained me access to the sick, of whatever condition, age, or sex they might be, at the same time it involved me in much anxiety and no little peril. For I often had to get up in the middle of the night, even when I was ill myself, and make my way over hill and forest, and rapid streams and torrents, with evident danger of my life. But as from these perils it pleased the goodness of God to deliver me, and make fruitful the labours undertaken for love of Him, I have no reason for regret. I have rescued very many sick, by the simplest remedies, from the very jaws of death, and restored them to complete health of mind and body, and strengthened as many when in the agonies of death, to meet the pains of disease and the fear of dissolution, and of these many, reconciled to God and the Church, expired gently and peaceably in my arms.

"Some years ago, being called in to see a Catholic lady, labouring under a mortal disease, I administered to her the customary remedies, which afforded her great relief, and I was of at least as much benefit to a woman, who happened to be with her, and who was an apostate. She was the daughter of orthodox parents, who had

brought her up piously, but since their death she had fallen under evil influence and abjured her faith. She had continued in her apostasy for forty-two years, in rebellion against the illumination of the Holy Spirit. But, struck with the unwearied patience and singular piety of her sick friend, and her more than ordinary cheerfulness and gladness, after she had received the succours of the Church, she was roused as from a sleep of death, and throwing herself at my feet, she did not cease imploring my aid until she was reconciled to God and holy Church. Having gained her wish, she spent about a year in severe labours of penance, at the end of which time she exchanged this perishing and mortal life for one, we have good ground for hope, which is blessed and immortal.

"A very similar case occurred nearly at the same time to another apostate. I was visiting one of her friends who was struggling with a mortal malady, and administering the usual remedies, when she applied for, and obtained, the same pious office for herself. Her friend died, and as I was leaving the house, I encountered, by divine providence, a noble matron, who was professedly a Catholic, but very careless about her salvation. She enquired of me how the sick man was. I answered that he had piously fallen asleep in the Lord, and that she herself would soon come to her last day, and it would be wise of her to set her house in order as quickly as she could. I spoke half in jest, but she took it seriously, went home, and after diligent examination of her conscience, made a general confession of her sins. She had hardly concluded this when she was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and died in a few hours.

"There have been other occurrences of the same

nature, but I pass them over, lest I should write at too great length. One example, however, of heroic fortitude I must relate. Some time ago, a young lady of noble birth came to me to give in her name to Christ. I put her off for a time, to try her constancy, and to render it more easy to obtain her father's consent, if that should be possible. Her father, learning his daughter's design, gave her a violent scolding, and told her he would disinherit her unless she changed her purpose. She replied that she would very willingly resign her inheritance, if she was permitted to embrace and publicly profess the Catholic Faith. Shortly after she placed in her father's hands a written renunciation, signed in the presence of witnesses. This proceeding greatly raised her in the opinion of her father and all her friends, and gained her full freedom to profess her faith, and becoming herself a living example of every virtue, she soon brought me a younger sister and some other young girls, all desirous to emulate so noble an instance of courage and fortitude."

Robert Seton writes thus: "I came to this country in the year 1699, and I have a district some sixty miles long entrusted to my care. I was at the time in feeble health and quite broken down, and when the people first saw me, they formed the opinion that I should prove of very little use to them; but by the aid of Him Who uses the weak things of this world to confound the strong, they soon began to welcome me with joy. The district was at that time suffering grievously from famine, and the inhabitants could only with great difficulty supply themselves with the absolute necessaries of life. My food was barley bread, my drink cold water, my bed the hard ground, or a little chaff

or straw. A barn full of cracks and chinks was my bedroom, study, and oratory; and so, for the most part, it is still.

"But I had other troubles to bear besides these, arising from my want of skill in the vernacular, the wonderfully varied characters and disposition of the people, constant journeys by day and night over steep and pathless hills, covered with snow the greater part of the year. But the aid of a merciful God enabled me to overcome all these difficulties, and others not less formidable. For the bounty of God was so largely extended to me, however undeserving of it, that in the midst of tribulation I superabounded with joy, and among implacable foes, ministers and soldiers conspiring for my ruin, I enjoyed unbroken peace of mind. Nor, down to the present time, have the weakness of my body, the difficulties of travel, and the almost complete destitution in which I live, been sufficient to keep me from watching with all vigilance over my flock. I cannot state precisely the number of those whom the Lord has been pleased to bring through my means to the knowledge of the truth, and indeed in these very difficult times I should not have thought it safe to keep a written list of them. But unless my memory deceives me, a hundred adults have come into the bosom of our holy Mother the Church, and a much larger number of young children have received baptism. Not only have feuds been made up between families, many of them families of note, but also acts of restitution, not few, have been made, both of goods and of good name, to the edification and consolation both of Catholics and Protestants.

"Since I first began to traverse this region, no child has died without baptism, no adult without receiving

the last Sacraments of the Church. One epileptic infant baptized of necessity in haste without the full ceremonial of the Church, was cured of the malady, when this was afterwards administered, and one adult was delivered from insanity by Extreme Unction, and restored to perfect health of body and mind. While the most Reverend Nicolson (here called Bruce) was visiting this district, which is confided wholly to my care, over six hundred persons were anointed by him with the holy Chrism, and he found and approved of them all, as well prepared to receive it, except only such as were incapacitated by want of reason to understand it."

Francis Moreville thus writes: "I came into this province in the year 1698, and took charge of a flock of over four hundred souls. They were orphans, deprived of their pastors, who had been driven away by many and violent persecutions and by the exactions of the heretics, or forced into hiding-places much worse than prisons, or actually imprisoned and exiled. This portion of the Scottish vineyard is acknowledged to be much more dangerous than any other, and more difficult of cultivation, yet by the singular providence of the divine Householder, it has its buds and flowers, yielding their odour of sweetness. So powerful is the zeal of the ministers against us, and our neighbours regard us with such steady hostility, that only under cover of darkness, and in the silent hours of the night, are we able to assemble a congregation, to visit the sick, and execute the other offices of our pastoral charge. And even so, we have to exercise the greatest vigilance, and run frequent and great risks of being made prisoners.

"The Catholics live so mixed up with the heretics, and in such close quarters, that a cough will betray the hidden missionary, and I have been more than once on the very point of being apprehended from some such cause. That I have been able even once to leave my abode, and return without stumbling into danger, is owing to God's Providence and the protection of the Angels. And I gratefully acknowledge, that it must be ascribed to the bounty and mercy of the same protecting Power, that the Catholics remain constant in their faith in spite of so many and varied stumbling blocks and all the crafty artifices of their opponents. No more have left us, or very few more, than have been added to our numbers, and these last have been nearly thirty during the time of my administration. The iniquity of the times is such, the influence and power of our enemies are so great, that it is hardly safe to admit even those who offer themselves, lest the salvation of one should prove the ruin of many, and bring on a general calamity. My principal labour, therefore, is not in converting heretics, but in getting Catholics to stand firm, instructing the young, hindering marriages between the orthodox and the heterodox, and urging the claims of the children. For the negligence of the parents in a matter of so much importance is so great, that these marriages constitute a far greater danger than all the books and sermons of the ministers, the severity of the laws, or fear of persecution."

Father Hugh Strachan writes: "I took charge of this district in the year 1701, and was at that time entirely ignorant of my native language, which, however difficult it is to learn, our Lord has enabled me to acquire so completely that now I am able to read,

write, preach, and catechise in the vernacular. I have composed a Catechism of controversy in this Highland tongue, and frequently explain it, to the great benefit of my hearers; for by this means the Catholics are becoming more and more confirmed and strengthened in their faith, and non-Catholics, who have any care for their salvation, are directed into the right path. By the kindness of Almighty God, I have brought more than three hundred grown-up people to the Faith, baptised three hundred and forty young children, brought about a happy solution of quarrels and misunderstandings between married persons, friends and neighbours, and joined many couples in legitimate marriage, who had lived together, some of them for years, in an unlawful union. There were others whose unions were null or invalid, for various reasons, and to these I have given marriage that is valid. I have procured, in many cases, restitution of goods or of good name, to the great edification of the non-Catholics, who are not accustomed to see anything of the kind done by their own ministers. Several men and women who were driven to the verge of madness, or beyond it, by the tricks and illusions of evil spirits, I have set free by the prayers authorised by the Church, taught them the orthodox Faith, and restored them to perfect health of mind and body. I have assisted very many in their last struggle, to their great consolation and my own. Among these was an illustrious nobleman who had abandoned the Catholic Faith and the friendship of our Society, and lived for some years in an incestuous and sacrilegious marriage, but on his deathbed he began to be seriously anxious about the safety of his soul. He accordingly sent for me, made a public and formal renunciation of the

heresy he had pretended to hold rather than really held, entreated forgiveness with many tears, confessed his sins with every indication of a contrite and humble heart, advised and exhorted all his hearers to receive the Catholic Faith, earnestly charged those in charge of the children he left, that they were to be brought up Catholics, left some alms to the poor in his will, and died piously and full of confidence in the Mercy of God.

"Another nobleman sent for me, but he had lost all his mental faculties by the time I reached him. I absolved him conditionally, and gave him the most holy Body of Christ by way of viaticum. But, wonder of wonders, he had been up to that time wholly unconscious, but no sooner had he received the Sacred Host than he broke forth into these expressions: 'To Almighty God I render immortal thanks, Who has deigned to impart to me, though most unworthy, the pledge of coming glory and the great Sacrament of His love!' He received the Last Unction, and immediately afterwards expired. Many stories like this I pass over on purpose, for want of space.

"Of the heretics, their calumnies, their railing, and their persecution, I need say little. They have told the ignorant people that I am a minister of hell, and often accused me before the King's Advocate and the High Court of the kingdom as a deceiver of the people. More than once, summoned by them to appear before the court, I have escaped judgment by flight, or by concealing myself in woods and caves, discharging the duties of my office only by night. Not me only, but my Catholic people, they have annoyed often and in wonderful ways. Some they have summoned before the courts, others they have plundered of their goods,

and turned out of their houses. But the bounty of God to these people is so great that two only have forsaken the Faith, and those of the humblest rank, one a tailor and the other a shoemaker.

"The region I dwell in is steep and sterile, mountainous and rugged, and much hardship and inconvenience has to be put up with. The people are so poor that they keep their cattle in their own dwellings. We live as we can on butter, cheese, and milk, rarely get flesh, fish hardly ever. We usually drink water, sometimes beer; wine we never taste but at the altar. We lie on the ground, or on a little straw or heather.

"These, and other inconveniences perhaps still worse, are telling upon my strength, and my health is more often bad than good. But, as the Apostle says, 'Strength is made perfect in weakness.' He, I may venture to trust, for Whose glory I undergo this warfare, will aid me when I fight, strengthen me when I fail, keep me by His grace here, and crown me with glory hereafter."

CHAPTER VII

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Introductory Note

The representations made to William III. by the Catholic ambassadors on behalf of the Scottish Catholics had been of no avail. The penal laws were put into execution with even more severity than before. The increasing difficulties they had to contend with turned the attention of the Holy See to the expediency of complying with the desire, so often expressed by the Scottish clergy, of being placed under an Episcopal superior. The name of Thomas Nicolson had been proposed for this dignity, and was approved by Innocent XII. on the 24th of August 1694.

King William III. died in March 1702, leaving the Catholics abandoned to the fanaticism of the people. The accession of Anne, the younger daughter of James II., brought little relief. Her reign was signalised by the union of Scotland and England in 1707. A special statute was passed for the maintenance of the Presbyterian system in Scotland. Toleration was guaranteed to the Episcopalians, liberty of conscience and worship was refused only to the Catholic Faith.

During the year 1703, two things engrossed public attention, viz. :— The General Assembly and the Parliament which were soon to sit. Catholics enjoyed some peace, and Mr James Gordon in a report to Rome pointed out the necessity of keeping up a larger number of zealous missionaries. It was evident that the schools greatly contributed to confirm the Catholic Faith in the Highlands, and the school-masters were persecuted with even greater spite than the missionaries (p. 209). Few Catholics abandoned their faith, many were converted (p. 211), but a great many Catholics had died of privations during the six preceding years.

1704.—A sham plot was trumped up to bring odium on the Jacobites and Catholics. Many of them suffered much on that

account. The rabble, led by four ministers, attacked and plundered Lord Nithsdale's house in Galloway (p. 216). When the General Assembly met in March 1704, the persecution was at its height. To incense the people a procession was organised through the streets of Edinburgh. They clothed the hangman and his men with priests' vestments, one of them carried a large crucifix, another a chalice, and albs and vestments were burned at the cross. An Act of the Council empowered every private person to apprehend priests, and promised a reward of five hundred marks for each. The missionaries were obliged to flee to the woods and the mountains, the houses of noblemen and gentlemen were rifled (p. 217). A party of soldiers seized Mr Munro, a very old priest unable to walk or sit on horseback. They threw him across a horse and so dragged him to prison, where he died in three days.

The year 1705 was very trying for priests. There was war between Britain and France, and no captain would venture to carry any missionary to Britain (p. 219). During the last two years several of their number had died, some were sick, others banished. Those who remained were exhausted, and there was little appearance of any relief (p. 223). Fortunately on the 27th of July 1706, Mr James Gordon, who had just been consecrated bishop in Italy, landed safely in Aberdeen. Two months after Messrs Douglas and Wallace arrived at Leith.

Bishop Nicolson visited Braemar in 1706. He was surprised that the people had remained so firm in the Catholic Faith, whereas the neighbouring districts had abandoned it. The reasons, he found, were two. First, the Church possessed no lands to tempt avarice; the second was that in the beginning of the troubles the Pastor of Braemar remained firm at his post and kept his flock to their religion (p. 227).

In 1707 Bishop Gordon resolved to visit the Highlands and Isles. He set out from the Enzie on the 5th of June in company with a deacon who knew Erse. They arrived in Glengarry on the 10th. On the journey they had to live on milk and cheese. Their bed was heather or grass, and when it rained there was not a dry spot in their huts. As there were soldiers in Glengarry the bishop was advised to proceed directly to the remotest part of the Highlands and to the Isles. To conceal himself better he started on foot. On the 16th they reached Glenquoich. On the 20th they reached the Laird of Knoidart's house, where confirmation was given. On the 26th the bishop landed in Uist, at Clanranald's house, and

gave confirmation. He afterwards visited Barra, Canna, and Eigg, and then sailed for the mainland and gave confirmation at Arisaig. On the 1st of August he reached Strathglass, and gave confirmation with great caution and secrecy. After visiting Lochaber and Badenoch, he reached Strathspey on the 18th and went for a rest to his brother's house, probably then at Ballacraig (p. 236).

1707.—The Catholics were exposed to much trouble from the recent penal law by which converts forfeited their goods, which fell to the nearest Protestant heir. By a new decree (1708) Catholics were now incapable of acquiring moveables or of recovering just debts (p. 239). This was soon to be followed by a refinement in the application of the penal laws. The circuit courts having been regularly established, it was suggested to the magistrates to summon before those courts all Catholic noblemen, gentlemen, and even ladies, and to impeach them of high treason for harbouring priests and hearing Mass. In the month of October nine priests were summoned to the circuit court. All persons were empowered to drag priests to prison, and a reward was offered to anyone who should apprehend a priest (p. 247). No Catholics apostatised or went to the kirk, and the rigorous persecution did not hinder many converts from entering the Church (p. 248).

Account of the State of Religion in Scotland during the years 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, *by the Rev.* John Thompson.

1703

In April this year, the Earl of Aboyne, who had apostatised some years before, returned to the communion of the Catholic Church, which event was of great edification and comfort to the Catholics. Having had a paralytic fit, accompanied with fever, and seeing himself in great danger, he sent for several missioners. As soon as the first of them arrived, he called in all those who belonged to his family, both Catholics and Protestants, and publicly declared in presence of them all, that he had abjured the Catholic religion against his

conscience merely for temporal interest, and that he had always been a Catholic in his heart. He prayed God to take him out of the world, rather than suffer him to yield any more to such a temptation. He lived some days after making this declaration, which he repeated several times with many tears, which he said he did with the intention of doing public penance, and atoning, as much as lay in his power, for the scandal he had given. He also gave strict orders to his lady, who was a Protestant, to educate his children in the Catholic religion, which she engaged to do; but I do not know if she performed it.

The Catholics, in the meantime, enjoyed some quiet through the dissensions and mutual jealousies of their enemies. Two things in particular engaged the attention of the nation, viz., the General Assembly, and the Parliament, which were soon to sit.

Mr James Gordon having prepared his relation of the state of the Mission with great care and deliberation, presented it to Propaganda in the May of this year, together with a copy of the Statutes of Bishop Nicolson, and some memorials on behalf of the Mission. This relation is by far the most accurate and judicious of any I have seen; and the reflections he makes on it, and the schemes he proposes, give a very favourable idea of the zeal and parts of the author. From this relation I have drawn much useful information with regard to the state and transactions of the Mission about this time; and as I have an authentic copy of it written in his own hand, I shall here give the best account of it I am able. It is methodically divided into several heads, according to the nature of the subject. In the first place he gives an exact account of the penal laws enacted against Catholics, and of the

persecutions and other hardships which both missioners and Catholics were daily exposed to. He next proposes some remedies against these persecutions, and begs of the Holy See to give orders to the nuncios at the Catholic courts to insist with those princes to give instructions to their ambassadors at London to procure some toleration to Catholics. But the principal preservative which he proposes against the bad effects of persecution is to keep up a sufficient number of pious, zealous, and learned missioners in the kingdom.

This leads him to speak of schools and colleges; and with regard to the first, he observes that schools had been established in the Highlands many years before, but for a long time had not succeeded to their wish and expectation, on account of the difficulties of the times. Bishop Nicolson, soon after his coming to the country, had put them on a better footing, and they had succeeded very well for some years, till they were broken up, and the school-masters dispersed by the late persecution, for the ministers persecuted the school-masters with greater spite than the missioners, as they saw how much these schools contributed to confirm the Catholic Faith in the Highlands, where the people, out of a certain instinct, or by some seeds of the Catholic religion which remained in their minds, were well disposed towards it.

To oppose the progress of these schools, the ministers established a school in the Highlands about that time, but with little success, for they could get but few to be induced to frequent it. He observes that they had never been able to establish schools in the Lowlands, on account of their living so much under the eye of the Supreme Courts. In order to make

some amends for the want of these schools, they had recourse to different contrivances to elude the severity of the laws. Sometimes every missioner took two or three boys, and instructed them in his own house, quietly, without being observed; at other times, they endeavoured to gain the goodwill of the Protestant school-masters, and gave them a trifle of money not to plague the Catholic children about religion. Then they appointed some discreet laymen to watch over the behaviour and studies of the youths. . . .

He next proceeds to give an account of the different sects that prevailed in Scotland, and of their principal tenets. These were the Episcopals, Presbyterians or Calvinists, Socinians, Quakers, Atheists, Deists, Bourignonists or Latitudinarians, a new sect which made a great noise. All these sects had multiplied exceedingly during the political and religious disturbances occasioned by the Revolution. One good effect flowed from this multiplicity of sects, which was that by these divisions, they furnished arms to the Catholics against themselves, and persecuted one another with such animosity that they had less time to think of persecuting the Catholics.

He then gives an account of the labours of the Bishop and the clergy in the midst of persecutions and errors. As to the Bishop, he was most attentive to everything that could contribute to promote the cause of religion. He was always moving about, and often visiting his flock; he comforted the weak and pusillanimous and confirmed the strong, and gave to all proper admonitions according to their circumstances, and particularly encouraged them to support temporal evils by the hope of an eternal reward, and frequently administered the Sacrament of Confirmation. Besides his daily employment, and visits to some part of his

district, Mr Gordon mentions his general visitations of the Low Country,[1] the Highlands, and of Galloway soon after his arrival in the country. He frequently exhorted and excited the missioners to perform their duty with zeal and diligence, and particularly to take care that none of their flock should make shipwreck of their faith, and to endeavour to convert as many Protestants as they could, who were remarkable for their probity and learning.

As to the clergy, they resided constantly each in his station, and were very laborious. The best proof of their labours, says he, was the success with which God had blessed them, even in those distressful times of persecution, poverty, and want; for no great number of Catholics had abandoned their faith, and some of these had been reclaimed, and considerable numbers had been converted. He then gives a general account of the Catholics and of the places where they were most numerous. These were the same in which they are the most numerous at this day; only he says in Tweeddale and Clydesdale there were considerable numbers, where there are very few at present. He says that the Catholics lived with great peace and security in the Western Isles, and that they did not live so peaceably in any part either of the Highlands or the Lowlands, as in the Duke of Gordon's estate. The Enzie at that time was the principal mission of the whole kingdom. The Bishop resided there for the most part, and the procurator of the mission always; the meetings of the clergy were all held there. The Catholics were so numerous there, and their meetings so public, that the

[1] By this term Thompson evidently means the "Carces" and plains in the neighbourhood of the mountains; not the Lowlands, in the sense we use the term—that is, as comprising everything south of the Highlands.

Protestants called the Enzie the "Papistical country." They enjoyed the same freedom at Glenlivet and Strathbogie. Though the Privy Council and other persons in power knew this, yet they connived at it, out of regard for the Duke of Gordon.

He says that it was not easy to ascertain the exact number of the Catholics at that time, as an immense number of people had died of want during the six preceding years, and in many districts where the Catholics were formerly very numerous, scarce one-half of them were alive. He adds, however, that there were still among the Catholics a considerable number of persons conspicuous for their birth and fortune, such as the Dukes of Gordon and Perth, the Earls of Huntly, Traquair, Nithsdale, Seaforth, Aboyne, and Melfort, the Lords Drummond, Semple, Oliphant, and Banff, Count Leslie, with many lairds both in the Highlands and Lowlands; besides the Earl of Middleton, who had been received into the Church at St Germains. From this enumeration it appears that the Catholics in Scotland are certainly increased in number since that time, yet many of the nobility and gentry have apostatised.

He next gives an account of the number of stations of the missioners. There were nine Jesuits on the mission, five in the south, and four in the north, viz. :— Father John Gordon with the Laird of Garleston; Father James Buchan with the Laird of Niddry; Father James Innes and Father Darvel with the Earl of Nithsdale; Father Durhan at Edinburgh; Father Hugh Strachan with the Laird of Auchinhove; Father Robert Seaton in Braemar; Father James Seaton with the Countess of Dunfermline; Father William Leslie, their superior, with his brother Count Leslie, Laird

of Balquhain. Father John Innes was gone to England with the Countess of Seaforth. There were four Benedictines, viz. :—Father John Abercromby with the Laird of Cairnfield; Father Mackie at Edinburgh; Father Reid in Buchan; Father M'Lenan in Knoidart. There were also five Irish Franciscans, three from Ireland, and two had been sent for by the Bishop out of France, viz. :—Father Hachen in Barra; Father M'Phie and Father O'Shiel in Uist; Father Logan and Father Hara in Moidart and Arisaig. They served also the small islands. The Benedictines and Franciscans had no other superior but the Bishop, and were entirely dependent on him like the clergy.

There were fifteen Scotch clergymen in the Mission and two Irish, viz. :—Mr Robert Munro in Glengarry and Strathglass; Mr James Kennedy in Glenlivet and Strathaven; Mr Alexander Moir and Mr Andrew Deans in Strathbogie; Mr Alexander Winster, *alias* Dunbar, in Gordon Castle; Mr James Donaldson and Mr Walter Innes in the Enzie; Mr Robert Strachan at Aberdeen; Mr David Guthrie at Arbroath; Mr William Stuart in Angus; Mr Alexander Drummond in Drummond Castle; Mr James Carnegie at Edinburgh; and Mr Alexander Irvine at Traquair. Mr Robert Davidson was destined for Galloway, and Mr Peter Fraser, who was to be promoted by the Bishop to Holy Orders for Arisaig, that Father Hara might give all his time to serve the small isles. Mr John Cahassy stayed in Morar, and Patrick Carolan *non agendo* in a small island near Barra. All the Clergy missioners had their fixed stations, and continued constantly in them; as they found by experience that this was the effectual means to promote the glory of God and the good of souls. He says, moreover, that the Clergy missioners depended

on the nobility only in this, that they made use of their protection to live with more safety, and to exercise their functions with greater freedom. That Mr Winster, who lived with the Duke of Gordon, and Mr Drummond, who lived with Lord Drummond, and Mr Irvine, who lived with the Earl of Traquair, served the neighbouring Catholics with no less attention than if they had not been attached to these noblemen.

The five Franciscans and two of the Benedictines had their quotas from the Mission; as also three school-masters, one in Uist, one in Barra, and one in Strathbogie. He mentions those missioners who had died lately, of whom I have taken notice above in the proper place; the appointment of administrators; and that the missioners met once or twice a year, to consult in common about the public good, and to make their report to the Bishop of the state of their respective districts. This relation was presented to the Congregation in this year, as I have mentioned above, but it was not taken into consideration in full congregation till the beginning of next year. . . .

I shall now proceed to relate the remaining transactions of this year. The attention of the nation was wholly taken up with the expectation of the Parliament, which was the first after the accession of Queen Anne to the throne. There were many mighty matters to be debated and settled in it, such as the legality of the last session of Parliament, which met after the Prince of Orange's death. The country party, at the head of which was the Earl of Arran, pretended it was illegal. The court party maintained strongly the legality of that session. Other matters were the Hanoverian succession; the Union. . . .

At last the Parliament met in May. The debates

were exceedingly violent. The Presbyterian party prevailed at last, and obtained the confirmation of the Presbyterian discipline. The next point was whether any toleration should be allowed the Episcopals. The Presbyterians opposed it violently, pretending that it was plainly against the written word to give any toleration to Antichrist. It was well for the Catholics that these gentlemen could not agree among themselves, for they enjoyed some peace and respite during these contentions among the Protestants.

The Catholics met with a great affliction this year; for Lord Semple apostatised, and publicly recanted in Parliament. With regard to the Hanoverian succession, our enemies themselves could not agree. The generality of them were against it. Some moved that an Act should pass declaring it high treason for any one to meddle with the succession till Queen Anne's death; and that then the Parliament should meet and declare the true succession to the crown.

1704

This year the persecution against Catholics raged with greater fury than ever. About the end of last year, a sham plot was trumped up by the Presbyterians to bring odium on the Jacobite party and on the Roman Catholics; as if they intended to bring about a revolution in favour of King James VIII. Plots were *à la mode* in these days, and the most absurd and inconsistent tales were greedily swallowed by the gaping crowd without the least examination, if the poor Catholics were said to be concerned in them; and even people of more judgment believed them, or affected to believe them, to promote their own views. Be that as

it will, orders were sent down from London to seize a great many Jacobites, or those who were suspected to be such. Many Catholics suffered much on this account, and occasion was taken from hence to renew the persecution against them.

The Presbyterians only wanted a pretence to fall upon the poor Catholics. Accordingly the rabble, with four ministers at their head, attacked Lord Nithsdale's house in Galloway, robbed the house, and abused the persons they found there, under pretence of searching for Jesuits. They treated in the same manner many other Catholic gentlemen's houses in the south and west, and nothing was heard in the pulpits but declarations against the Papists. Lord Nithsdale, being incensed at this treatment, cited before the Council the four ministers, who headed the rabble to plunder his house, and they cited him for harbouring Papists; but by the Lord Advocate's advice, both parties withdrew their prosecution. The missioners were obliged to abscond, and among others, Mr Carnegie was obliged to leave Edinburgh. All letters were opened, and people were obliged to be very cautious.

But it was not till the General Assembly sat in March that the persecution arrived at its height. The ministers had taken care to incense the people throughout the kingdom against the Catholics by their violent declamations and calumnies; and to incense them the more, the day before the General Assembly was opened, they and the magistrates made an abominable mock procession through the streets of Edinburgh. They clothed the public hangman and his men with the richest priests' vestments they had found, and gave one of them a large crucifix in his hand, and in the other a chalice; a great many more carried pieces of torn vestments and

albs, as it were in triumph, all over the city, and then solemnly burned them at the Cross.[1] The very Episcopals were scandalised with this sacrilegious farce. In the Assembly the ministers were most violent; and nothing was talked of but of putting the laws against Catholics in execution throughout the kingdom; and it is thought that there would have been a massacre of the Catholics, if the Lord Advocate, to stop the fury of the ministers, had not, by order of the Privy Council, granted a warrant to search all the Catholic houses in and about Edinburgh. This was done with great vigour, and Mr Davidson was taken at Leith and cast into prison.

But this did not satisfy the Duke of Queensberry, for he, to ingratiate himself with the Presbyterians, obtained a letter from the Queen to the Council to put the laws against the Papists into execution. Upon this the Council issued an Act, empowering not only magistrates, but also every private person to apprehend priests, and promised a reward of five hundred marks for each; and discharged every person from resetting them, under a penalty of five hundred marks. In consequence of this a general search was begun all over the kingdom; and the rabble attacked the houses of all Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, rifling them, and carrying off whatever savoured of Popery, or seemed to them to savour of it. The poor missioners were obliged to fly to the woods and mountains to escape their pursuers, and suffered incredible hardships; for the search was so strict and so universal that it was scarce possible to conceal them in private houses.

I do not find, however, that any of them were

[1] This procession is described by John Irvine Innes in a letter preserved in the Archives of Propaganda in Rome and quoted by Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. iv.

seized, but Mr Davidson, whom I mentioned above, and Mr Munro in Glengarry. This last gentleman was very old, and happened to be sick at that time, and consequently could not change his quarters. A party of soldiers from the neighbouring castle went and apprehended him, and, as he was unable to walk, or sit on horseback, those unfeeling wretches threw him across a horse like a sack of corn, and so dragged him to prison.[1] There they threw him on the floor, refusing him a little straw to lie on, and so he lived two days in perpetual torture, till it pleased God to crown his labours and sufferings on the third.[2] The General Assembly, before they rose, in their great zeal sent an address to the Queen, praying her to suppress Popery, and representing the daily growth of it, and the infinite number of priests that daily came home, and spread themselves over the north and the Highlands, making, according to them, six priests to one minister. They mentioned, moreover, that they had schools there for educating their children in their own principles; that at Edinburgh, a French Papist kept a dancing school; and that a Scotchwoman, a Papist, taught young ladies to sew and embroider; such were the grievous crimes of the Papists. Mr Davidson, after lying several months in prison, was banished to Ireland. This year died Mr James Kennedy, who was settled in Glenlivet and Strathaven; and Mr Peter Fraser was put in his place, and did a great deal of good; and his memory is renowned in these countries to this very day. Two of the Irish Franciscans left the Highlands, and retired to Ireland, being wearied with the fatigues and sufferings they met with.

[1] Glengarry Castle.

[2] He expired on the 17th of January (Bishop Geddes's MS. Memoirs).

After their departure, the country was in great distress for want of hands, and the Bishop used all his interest both in Ireland and on the Continent to procure a supply. He had, some years before, sent many Highland youths to the college at Paris, and some to that of Rome, to afford a constant supply to the country; but unfortunately the most of them after all his trouble and expense misgave, which gave him great concern, and increased his difficulties. Mr Irvine was very anxious to get home to join his comrades, though he very well knew what he had to expect; and accordingly he left Paris after Easter, and went to Flanders to try if he could get a passage there, or in Holland; for all communication between Britain and France was interrupted on account of the war. He went first to Brussels, to wait on the nuncio, and then to Dunkirk to try to get a passage either to England or Scotland. But so great was the danger and difficulty that no captain, not even those of his own acquaintance, would venture to carry him to Britain. Mr Innes, having got new accounts of the persecution against Catholics in Scotland, wrote to him very pressing letters to return to Paris, and wait a more favourable opportunity. He was at a loss what to do; he was desirous to get home, and was sorry to lose the expenses he had been at by returning to Paris. He therefore returned to Brussels to the nuncio to take his advice; and he expressly ordered him to go back to Paris, which he did, as there was no hope of getting a passage from Holland. Two English gentlemen that left Paris with him were arrested there on suspicion, and confined for some months. Mr Crichton, the banished missioner, was still at Dunkirk, but old and infirm.

Accounts of all these transactions were sent to Rome both by the missioners, by Innes at Paris, and by the Bishop from Scotland. But his and the missioners' letters were very unlucky, for they could not send them by post for fear of being opened; and when they sent them by private hands, they were either miscarried, or thrown into the sea in time of danger: so that scarce one in ten which they sent arrived at its destination.

1705

About the end of July, or the beginning of August, a congregation was held at Rome, in which Mr Gordon[1] was unanimously appointed Coadjutor under the title of Bishop of Nicopolis. . . . Although the persecution did not rage with such fury this year, nor were the priests searched for with such diligence as usual, yet priests and Catholics had a great deal to suffer, and it was a year of severe trial to Bishop Nicolson.

The differences between England and Scotland about the succession to the Crown still subsisted, and were conducted with great heat on both sides. When the English Parliament settled the succession, they were but little concerned what resolutions the Scots Parliament came to, as they hoped that Scotland would soon follow the example of the more powerful kingdom; but they were disappointed.

The Presbyterian party tried in every Parliament since Queen Anne's accession to get the Hanoverian succession acknowledged, but without success; for they were still outvoted by the Country Party, as it was called, which happened to be the case also in this year's

[1] Bishop James Gordon, son of Patrick Gordon of Glastyrum, was born in Banffshire about 1664, and educated in the Scots College, Paris.

Parliament, and the business was deferred. Both parties were so intent on these differences that they had less time to think of persecuting the Catholics; but, though there was no general persecution, the laws made against Catholics were still in force; and many private persons availed themselves of them to give trouble to the Catholics and to show their zeal. The terror of these laws hindered the conversion of Protestants, and some Catholics apostatised during the last four years, when the persecution was most severe. Temporal interest was the great cause which prevented the conversion of Protestants, and occasioned the perversion of Catholics. Among others, Sir John Seaton of Garleton apostatised this year, which gave great concern to the Bishop and the missioners. He was under the direction of the Jesuits.

A certain citizen of Edinburgh this year, having, by the death of a nephew, succeeded to an estate worth upward of £200 a year, a Protestant relation claimed the estate, pretending that according to the Acts of Parliament, the Catholic could not succeed; and the Catholic, for fear of losing the estate, had the weakness to go to the Protestant kirk, though he had professed the Catholic religion for many years, and still believed in it in his heart. Another young gentleman of a good Catholic family, having lost his parents, and being in low circumstances, was much solicited by powerful friends and relations to renounce his religion, with ample promises if he complied, and threats if he refused. After he continued firm for a year, about the beginning of Lent they brought him the Queen's nomination to a place worth near £200 a year, which he could not enjoy being a Catholic, but would immediately take possession of on becoming a Protestant. He kept the nomination

in his pocket for ten days in a continual conflict within himself. On the one hand, honour and profit and the solicitations of his Protestant friends; on the other, conscience and remonstrances of his Catholic friends, dragged him different ways. At last, in the second week of Lent, he began to yield to the temptation by eating meat. That night he was seized with a violent fever, which in a few days put an end to his life. But as soon as he perceived the fever, he began to lament his weakness with many tears, and after having received all the Sacraments, happily expired.

The missioners were obliged to live very retired, especially in towns, and as they were continually threatened with the execution of the laws, they could scarce appear in the streets, or serve the people, without exposing themselves to imprisonment or exile, which proved a great loss to the common cause. There was only one priest apprehended this year; and this happened rather through a private grudge than by public authority. This happened on the following occasion. A certain Catholic woman, a widow at Aberdeen, had a lawsuit with a Protestant of the same place, who took it into his head that the missioner, who directed her conscience, and who was a Benedictine from Wurtzburg, was the cause why he could not obtain satisfaction from the widow. Under pretence of friendship, he betrayed the priest, and caused him to be apprehended. The very Protestants condemned his treachery, and called him another Judas, although the apprehending a priest, in those days, was considered as a proof of zeal for the Protestant religion.

Another calamity that the Catholics suffered was, that they were forced to send their children to Protestant schools. The Bishop had again and again

attempted to set up his schools at different times and in different places, but they were always dispersed and shut up. The Protestants publicly declared they would not suffer anything that would contribute to propagate the Catholic faith; and that they would root out the very name of Catholics. Under such distresses, in the midst of such cruel enemies, Bishop Nicolson had reason to cry out, as he wrote to Propaganda, *Misericordiæ Domini quod non sumus consumpti.*

Some false brother gave the ministers a list of all the priests' names in the kingdom, with a description of their person, which obliged them to abscond for some time; but none were taken but Father Durhan,[1] a Jesuit. But these were not the only trials the good Bishop met with; he had others of a different nature, which gave him still more concern. When Mr Gordon left the Mission about three years before, all the stations had their missioners assigned to them, and were all well served; but now there was a very great alteration, occasioned partly by death and sickness, and partly by desertion. During the last two years several had died, some were sick, others were in exile or out of the country; so that those who remained were reduced to a small number, and were oppressed with fatigue, and there was but little appearance of any relief. The Bishop some time before had procured from France and Ireland, Irish priests and friars, at a great expense, for the Highlands. Two of these friars soon left the country; a third, who stayed some time longer, soon followed them. . . .

The good Bishop writes that his heart is broken with this and other troubles that he daily meets with. There

[1] Father William Durhan, S.J., Foley, *Records* vii. (1) 217.

remained in the Highlands only Mr M'Lellan and three Irish. The Bishop turned himself to all hands[1] to procure a supply, and offered very advantageous conditions. He wrote to Ireland, France, Flanders, and Germany, but could not find any help at that time.

The decaying state of the Mission, and the melancholy prospect it afforded, affected the missioners so sensibly that they almost began to despond, and were afraid that the Mission might fail, and the few remains of Catholic religion be extinguished, notwithstanding all their endeavours, so many were the difficulties they had to contend with. It must be confessed that the Mission seemed never to have been reduced to a more alarming condition, and that the appointment of Mr James Gordon at this time to be coadjutor was one effect of divine Providence to save it from ruin.

1706

I must now return to Mr James Gordon or Nicopolis.[2] Soon after the beginning of the New Year, he began to dispose himself for his consecration and departure from Rome. Both the Messrs Innes at Paris, and Messrs Leslie and Stuart, and he himself were very anxious that the consecration should be performed as privately as possible, for fear that the news of it should reach Scotland in such troublesome times. The more effectually to conceal it, not only from their enemies, but also from their friends, Mr Leslie proposed that he should be consecrated, not at Rome, but at Monte-

[1] Hand, *i.e.* side. "He came out with a bishop on every hand."—More quoted in Murray, *Oxford Dictionary*, "Hand," i. 4.

[2] Bishop of Nicopolis.

fiascone by Cardinal Barbarigo, Bishop of that city. As Mr Leslie had long enjoyed the friendship of the Cardinal, and had corresponded with him, he wrote to his Eminence to ask the favour of him, which he readily granted. Accordingly, Mr Nicopolis, after having settled all his affairs at home, and taken leave of his friends, departed from there about the end of March. He left behind him a very great opinion of his parts and zeal in all that knew him. During his stay in Rome, he had engaged one, Father Peter Mulligan, an Irish Augustinian, to go to the Highland Mission. He left him behind, with orders to follow him to Montefiascone. He himself set out alone, and very privately.

Mr Nicopolis, having settled all his business at Paris, was anxious to proceed on his journey as soon as possible; accordingly he left Paris on the 25th of June, in company with Father Mulligan, took the way of Holland, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived safe on the 27th of July at Aberdeen. There he was so happy as to find Bishop Nicolson, who received him with the greatest cordiality and affection; and never was there a happier meeting for mutual joy and satisfaction. About two months after Bishop Gordon had left Paris, Messrs Douglas and Wallace set out for Scotland by way of Dunkirk, and arrived safe at Leith.

With regard to the general state of the Mission this year, the Catholics enjoyed more quiet than usual, though their enemies were very busy in spreading abroad false rumours, in order to terrify them. The ministers in the General Assembly, to show their zeal, gave in a complaint to the Privy Council, and pressed for the execution of the penal laws, but their grievances were not much attended to.

Nevertheless the effects of the late penal laws, and especially of the law which excluded the Catholic heirs, and called in the nearest Protestant heir, were severely felt every day. For the other laws were left to be put in force by Government, with which there was room for interest and interposition of friends; but this law executed itself, and proved a great stumbling-block to the ambitious and avaricious. This danger gave great pain and anxiety to the Bishops and missioners, and they spared no pains to prevent the bad effects of it.

Notwithstanding these temptations and discouragements, some converts were made, and the number of those that yielded to them were fewer than could have been expected. A certain great man, a Catholic, abjured his religion that he might obtain a seat in Parliament. He had a sister, a Protestant, married to a Catholic, who had been frequently solicited by her husband to become a Catholic; but without effect, till she happened to fall sick, when she called for a priest, was instructed, received all the Sacraments, and died a very edifying death, about the time that her brother apostatised.

This year, for the first time, Bishop Nicolson visited Braemar. The Earl of Mar and the ministers there were such inveterate enemies to the Catholics, that he could never venture to go thither without fear of personal danger to himself, and of hurting the poor people, whom he longed to visit. But this year he took the opportunity of the Earl's absence from the country to perform his visit, which turned out happily.

He found there about five hundred Catholics, with whom he was very well pleased. They were under the direction of two Jesuits. He was edified to find several examples of virtue among the poor people;

particularly of one woman, who had observed for seven years the fast of St Ninian (that is from mid-day on Holy Thursday till mid-day on Easter Sunday), had foretold the time of her death, and many other things, which exactly came to pass. He was surprised to find the people of Braemar had continued so firm and constant in the Catholic religion, seeing that the neighbouring districts had abandoned it in the general defection, and still continued in heresy. For this the people of Braemar gave him two very convincing reasons: the first was, that in the neighbouring counties the Church possessed many lands, hence avarice conspired with error to delude the people, and withdraw them from their religion; whereas in Braemar the Church possessed no lands, and the clergy lived on tithes and oblations. This observation holds true, as he remarks, all over the kingdom; for where sacrilege abounded most, there heresy is more predominant; and where the Church possessed more lands, there the heretics are more obstinate. The second was, that in the beginning of the troubles the pastor of that country, Mr James Owen, a very holy man and much beloved by his people, continued firm in his post, while others fled, and both by word and example instructed the flock committed to his charge, and preserved them in their religion. The Bishop observes that from the histories of the times it appears that where there were zealous pastors at the time of the Reformation, there remained a considerable seed of the old religion.

He learned many other things concerning Mr Owen, which the people preserved as tradition, which deserve to be recorded. One day, when he was at the altar, a gentlewoman of good family, but a Protestant,

accompanied by some men of the same persuasion, entered the place, and violently laid hands on him, and turned him out of the place. He turning to his flock with tears foretold them that the woman would soon be punished for the violence she had used, which event was soon verified; for in a short time after, she began to be tortured with violent pains, and her right hand, with which she had presumed to touch the priest, mortified to the elbow. She languished for a long time, a miserable spectacle, and a burden to herself and others; for no one would stay in the room with her, the stench was so intolerable. She prayed for death to end her misery, but her prayer was not heard, neither had she the happiness to repent. The Bishop attests that her posterity related the story down to that time.

The affairs of the Mission were in a rather more prosperous way than usual this year. The distresses of the Highlands, which had given so much pain to Bishop Nicolson, were in a great measure relieved. For no less than four new hands were sent thither, viz., Fathers Hyslop, Gordon and Mulligan, and Mr Douglas; and the two Dominicans engaged by Bishop Gordon at Paris, and destined for the same place, were soon expected. The schools, which had been so often dispersed and shut up by the soldiers, were opened again in the Highlands this year. Mr Alexander Irvine, who had laboured on the Mission with great zeal for the space of thirty years, died this summer at Traquair; and Mr Alexander Winster, *alias* Dunbar, was confined to his bed with age and infirmity. Mr Andrew Deans had been two years *non agendo* from a constant distemper.

The heats and tumults still continued in the country

about the Union with England. All the shires and most of the boroughs declared against it, and the chief nobility in Parliament opposed it, but the Court party prevailed by the help of English money. In the meantime the missioners and Catholics lived pretty quietly; for Protestants of all ranks were so taken up with these disputes, that they had little time to think of the Catholics. Bishop Gordon was employed in consulting with the missioners about the propriety and expediency of the union of the College with Propaganda, to which he found them all favourable.

This year, Lord Drummond, eldest son of the Duke of Perth, was married to Lady Jane Gordon, daughter to George Duke of Gordon, and sister to Duke Alexander; to the mutual satisfaction of both families.

1707

Bishop Gordon, after his return to the Mission, had an earnest desire to visit the Highlands and Islands to inquire into the state of religion, and of the country, to comfort and encourage the Catholics with the presence of a Bishop, and to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. Bishop Nicolson had visited that country in the year 1700, and had settled missioners in different districts, and had confirmed about 3000 persons. Though he intended and wished to return again, yet on account of the difficulties of the times and the fatigue of the journey and great distance, and his own delicate state of health, he had never been able to put his design into execution. Bishop Gordon therefore resolved to set out for those parts early in the spring this year; but having served a very numerous congregation which had no pastor during

Lent and Easter, as he was full of zeal, and most active and laborious, he fatigued himself so much that he contracted a sickness, which disabled him for several weeks from beginning his journey. As soon as he was a little recovered, he set out on the 5th of June, contrary to the advice of his friends, in company with a deacon who knew the Erse, and whom he intended to ordain priest in the Highlands. I have an accurate journal of his whole journey, from which I shall extract what is necessary, to give an idea of the country at that time.

They set out from the Enzie, by way of Aberlour to Glenlivet, where they took a guide, and arrived at Ruthven in Badenoch on the 9th, and in Glengarry on the 10th. Here he was obliged to change his diet, and live on milk; for the country afforded nothing but milk and white meats for food, and whey and water for drink. The country people had some barley-bread very ill baken, and when this failed, they used cheese in place of it. The Bishop was obliged to use this diet for the most part through his whole progress, for it was very seldom that he could be indulged with a little flesh and flesh-broth. The beds were made of heather, straw, or grass; and when it rained, there was not a dry spot in their miserable huts. The Bishop bore all these inconveniences, rather than carry with him better provisions and other necessaries, which might have any appearance of luxury, or of affecting conveniences, which were unknown to the better sort at that time in those parts.

Here he found the two principal missioners in the Highlands, whom he had appointed to meet him at this place, to accompany him in his visit. They, after having consulted with the principal persons in the

country, advised him to proceed directly to the remotest parts of the Highlands and to the Islands, before he began to exercise his Episcopal functions. For, as there was a garrison in Glengarry, if his arrival in the country should be discovered, his visit would be disturbed in the beginning; whereas, in other places, there were either no garrisons, or they were at a distance from his route. This advice he followed, but first he sent back the horses which he had brought thus far and set out in the apostolic way, and performed the whole remaining part of his journey on foot: with a view to conceal himself the better, and that his fellow-travellers might have the less reason to complain of the fatigues of the journey, bad roads, and bad food, since he had to bear all these circumstances in common with them. On the 16th they came to Glenquoich, and here indeed they began to experience how bad, perilous, and fatiguing the roads were; for they were either so steep that they had to crawl with hands and feet along high and rugged mountains, with danger of falling down precipices every moment, or so wet and boggy that they were often in danger of sinking, and never had a dry foot.

The Bishop, however, bore these fatigues with cheerfulness, and encouraged his fellow-travellers by his example. At last they reached the head of a loch, where they were met by Glengarry's brother, who had been apprised beforehand of their coming, and had brought his boat to convey them, partly by water (the road being impracticable by land), to his house. They stayed with Glengarry's brother during the 18th and 19th to rest themselves, and on the 20th travelled to the laird of Knoidart's house, eight miles off. Being now in a place of safety, he thought it proper time to begin his functions. He therefore warned the people

to assemble on the 22nd, being Sunday, and administered Confirmation to such as were prepared.

On the 23rd they travelled eight miles, and lodged on an island in Loch Morar. On the 24th, as the wind was fair, they set out early in the morning, and reached Arisaig, five miles distant, where they met with the skipper, who was to transport them to the Isles. As the Bishop was hastening to the Isles, they travelled five miles more, and reached the sea, where they embarked on board the laird of Moidart's best boat for the Isle of Uist, fifty or sixty miles from the mainland. But the wind proving contrary, they were carried to Eigg, where they landed on the 25th, stayed the next two days, and catechised the people; while the two priests heard their confessions, and prepared them for Confirmation. After the Gospel, one of the priests preached in the Erse tongue, and after Mass, the Bishop made a short homily, which one of the priests translated into Erse. This was the constant method he observed in giving Confirmation throughout the whole visit; except that once or twice in Glengarry, the instructions and exhortations were omitted or abridged, for fear of the soldiers. While the priests were hearing the confessions of the people, the Bishop treated with the principal persons of the place about the state of the country, and of religion, of the principal abuses, and of the proper remedies.

In the evening of the 26th they set sail, and touched at the Isle of Rum, where they supped; and next morning landed in Uist, at Clanranald's house, where they met with the kindest reception from the laird and the lady, and found all the convenience and as good entertainment as was to be had in almost any part of Scotland. On the 28th they took a little rest, having been all sea-sick. On the 29th Confirmation was adminstered as

usual. On the 30th they sailed to Barra, and spent the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of July in it and the little island of Watersay, instructing the people, and giving Confirmation as usual. The Bishop gave a copy of the *Statuta* to the priest of the place, and several instructions in word and writing, and also new faculties. He made him preach before him after the Gospel, that the two priests who accompanied him might give him an account of how he performed. He also took a list of the books and utensils belonging to the Mission.

The laird and principal inhabitants spoke to the Bishop about erecting a school in that island, as it was inconvenient for them to send their children to other countries, which he agreed to. They were very kindly entertained by the laird during their stay in the island. On the 4th they returned to Uist; on the 5th and 6th the Bishop administered Confirmation, and conversed with the principal persons on the island, and on the evening of the last day returned to Uist, and gave Confirmation on the 10th, and before his departure constituted a vicar with faculties for general inspection over the islands. On the 11th they sailed from Uist, and on the 12th reached Canna, and on the 13th gave instructions and Confirmation as usual. In the evening they set sail, and were in danger of their lives from a storm, which rose in the night; but one of the priests, who was a good sailor, having taken the helm, they happily escaped the rocks.

On the morning of the 14th they reached Eigg, where they remained that day and the following, having called thither the people of the neighbouring islands, and gave instructions and Confirmation as usual. On the 16th they sailed to the mainland, where on the 17th he gave Confirmation in Arisaig. On the 18th they advanced

towards the bounds of Moidart; but, as there was a garrison in that country, the Bishop was advised not to enter it, but to stop in the neighbourhood to give an opportunity to the people to meet him. Wherefore, on the 18th, he stayed at a place called Ardness; and on the 19th, after giving Confirmation, they proceeded to Borrodale. On the 20th he gave Confirmation, and went to Cross in Morar, where he gave Confirmation next day, being the 21st; and then he went to Blorad, in the other Morar. On the 22nd, after giving Confirmation, they proceeded to Torcross in Glenmuil, after crossing a loch. On the 23rd, after giving Confirmation, they crossed the loch again, and by a very dangerous and fatiguing road, reached Kyles in Knoidart. On the 24th the Bishop gave Confirmation and admonitions to the people, and from thence proceeded to Scothouse. There on the 25th he gave Confirmation, and ordained priest the deacon he had brought with him from the Lowlands, which was the first ordination that had been in that country since the Reformation, one hundred and fifty years before. Here he gave the *Statuta*, faculties and proper instructions to the two priests of Morar and Arisaig. On the 26th he gave Confirmation in the same place, and then proceeded to the laird of Croiligs, and on the 27th, after giving Confirmation, sailed down the loch to Barrisdale.

On the 28th they travelled to Glenquoich by a very bad road, which fatigued them much; and the next two days the Bishop had a slight fever. On the 29th he halted the whole day, awaiting an answer from Strathglass, whither he had sent a person to acquaint the priest of his coming, and to know what was the most proper place for the people to meet in. On the 30th he gave Confirmation as usual in the same place.

On the 31st he set out for Strathglass, and after travelling twelve long miles of very bad road, reached Glenmoriston, where he slept. The next day being the 1st of August, he travelled eight miles more, and reached Strathglass. On the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th he gave Confirmation, and spoke with the principal persons concerning the state of religion in the place. On the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th he gave Confirmation as usual in different places in the country, but with great caution and secrecy, being near the garrison; but on the 10th he fell sick of a fever, which every day increased. However, he did not omit to celebrate and give Confirmation, for he concealed his sickness as much as he could. On the 12th the fever increased considerably, accompanied with great heat, thirst and nausea, but there was nothing to be found that he could contrive to drink, and no medicines to be had in the country, and although the fever daily increased, it was not safe for him to lie in his sick-bed in any part of Glengarry. On the 13th he set out for Lochaber, but after having travelled two or three miles, he became so weak that he was obliged to take a horse, and rode fifteen miles more. His fever increased at night; he said Mass, however, preached to the people, and gave Confirmation next day, being the 14th; but that night his fever increased so much that he was in danger of his life. In the morning he was a little easier, and it being the Feast of the Assumption, he said Mass, and gave Confirmation, and afterwards proceeded twelve miles to the nearest part of Badenoch. That day he took leave of the two priests who had accompanied him during his visit, and sent them back to their respective stations. On the 16th the fever had abated a good deal, and he said Mass

for his landlady, and then advanced twelve miles more to Ruthven in Badenoch. Here, having drunk some beer, which he had not taken for a long time, it gave him a dysentery which continued for eight or ten days; but though it weakened him considerably, it had this advantage, that it cured his fever. On the 17th he gave Confirmation. On the 18th he came to Strathspey, and on the 19th to Strathaven; but as his distemper still continued, he determined to go to Deeside to pass some days with his friends. On the 20th he came to Bellethrach, and on the 21st arrived at his brother's house, probably then at Balnacraig, where he stayed some time to recover his health and strength. From the cheerfulness with which Bishop Gordon bore the fatigues of so long a journey, we may argue how great his zeal and activity was. Besides the fatigue, it was attended with considerable expenses; but he thought all well bestowed for the spiritual advantage of the people. He had also the consolation to find that the number of the Catholics was much greater than he had imagined; and that the Protestants were well disposed to embrace our holy faith. For he scarce performed any functions in any place, but they flocked to see and hear him with great activity, if there were any of them in the neighbourhood; and some of them always petitioned to be received into the Church, among whom were three gentlewomen whose conversion had almost been despaired of before.

In the course of his visit, he confirmed 2242 persons. He sent a copy of his journal to Propaganda, and the Congregation returned him a very flattering answer, commending much his zeal and activity. Many people were afraid that this visit of Bishop Gordon would give occasion to the ministers and others to raise a new

persecution; but though he travelled over such a large extent of country, and performed his functions almost everywhere, yet he behaved with so much caution and circumspection that his progress was not observed, and no disturbance or rumour arose from it.

In the beginning of October, Bishop Gordon left Deeside, and came to Glenlivet and Strathaven, where he gave Confirmation, and after giving his instructions to priests and people, returned to the Enzie for the winter.

With regard to the state of the Catholic religion this year, there was no general persecution; nevertheless the missioners and their people were kept in perpetual anxiety and solicitude, and were exposed to many troubles and distresses from the penal laws, which were always in force; especially from that law by which a Protestant, on becoming a Catholic, forfeited his goods and possessions, which fell to the nearest Protestant heir. Hence few converts were made of the better sort; for few were capable of such a sacrifice. Nevertheless many converts were made among the lower classes, and some were of the better sort. But many of all ranks, both rich and poor, in time of sickness, and especially on their deathbed, called for priests, and were reconciled to the Church; for at that moment the fear of the judgments of God, and the desire of securing their eternal salvation, prevailed over worldly respect, interest, and all other considerations: and those who had lived Protestants desired to die Catholics. . . .

1708

This year proved very troublesome, both to the missioners and the Catholics. About the middle of

winter several rumours were spread abroad concerning the arrival of King James in the country. Hence the Catholics immediately became obnoxious to the Government; though there was nothing alleged against them but suspicions, which might have been alleged with as much justice against many others of a different persuasion. But in the month of March, the King having actually appeared on the coast on board a French fleet, the times became very turbulent for the Catholics. Priests durst not appear; and no person was safe travelling through the country about his own affairs; for parties of soldiers were stationed everywhere, who stopped everyone they met with, and made a strict enquiry into their business and intentions. Many of the nobility and gentry were called to Edinburgh by order of the Privy Council, and from thence sent prisoners to London. Among these were six Catholic noblemen and some gentry, but I have not been able to learn their names. As nothing could be proved against any of them, they were all enlarged, except one who was sent to the Tower of London, and who from other circumstances appears to have been the Duke of Gordon, and he also was liberated after some time. It was no wonder that the Catholics were treated as suspected persons; for at court at that time all Scotland was looked upon as disaffected, partly on account of their hatred of the English and of the Union, and partly on account of their attachment to the family descended from their ancient kings. It was the general opinion at that time, that if King James had landed in Scotland, he would soon have become master of the whole kingdom.

Notwithstanding the troublesome times, the missioners continued firm and constant, and none of them

ever thought of abandoning his station. They were obliged, indeed, to retire and to use great caution in performing their functions, especially about Easter. They held their meetings seldomer, and frequently during the night, or early in the morning. To the other distresses of the Catholics were added new penal laws, which it seemed impossible to render more unjust and rigorous. The separate Parliaments of Scotland and England had formerly declared Catholics incapable of purchasing land or houses, or of succeeding to inheritances; but the first united Parliament of the two nations declared them incapable of acquiring moveables or of recovering just debts. Under such circumstances, it was not to be wondered at if few converts were made; nay, it was surprising how the Catholic religion could subsist. Nevertheless, some converts were always made, and though fewer than usual, especially among the rich, yet their zeal and devotion compensated for their number, and gave a sensible consolation to the missioners. Notwithstanding the persecution, the schools in the Highlands continued to prosper; and the schoolmasters stood firm in spite of the threats of the ministers. In the Lowlands, the Catholics were in great difficulties and anxieties about the education of their children; for there were no schools there. The priests, however, supplied as well as they could this defect; especially they took care to instruct and prepare such young men as were to be sent abroad. And here it is to be observed that in these times, it was with the greatest difficulty that they could get youths sent to foreign colleges; for they could not send them directly to France on account of the wars, and for fear of the Government at home; and they were obliged frequently to send them by way of Norway

and Denmark, which circuit was tedious, dangerous, and expensive.

Bishop Nicolson, notwithstanding his weak state of health, was very attentive to the necessities of the whole Mission, and provided for them as well as circumstances would allow. His principal residence, as I observed before, was in the Enzie, but as every place was full of tumults and threats against Catholics, and he, on account of his disposition of body, was not in a condition to remove with expedition from place to place in case of danger, he was advised to withdraw, and conceal himself for some months, till the storm should blow over.

In the meantime, Bishop Gordon, whose zeal knew no bounds, was everywhere, for he was extremely active and alert. He was constantly in motion through the different stations in the north, supplying for the priests who durst not appear, especially about the time of Easter; and when he apprehended danger in one place, he moved to another. He made an excursion to Glenlivet and Strathaven, thinking he would be safer there; but he found that these countries were not exempt from danger and disturbances; wherefore after visiting and encouraging the missioners and people, he returned to the Low country. He had resolved to return again to the Highlands, to perfect what he had done last year. But this year, there were greater disturbances there than in the Low country, and more dangers to be feared for one of his character; for the people there were full of the expectation of King James's landing, and more garrisons and parties of soldiers were stationed in different parts of the country. Therefore, seeing that he could do little good there in these circumstances, he was obliged to defer the execution of his design till a more favourable conjuncture.

He had also another motive for delaying his journey to the Highlands; for he had been informed that some malicious person had written to court that he had gone last year to the Highlands, under pretence of religion, to stir up the Highlanders in favour of King James. Accordingly he did not think it prudent to return thither this year, while the country was in such a ferment; although he had got notice that the court had given no credit to the above calumny. He began to think how he could spend the summer best for the benefit of religion; and on mature deliberation, he determined to visit the missioners and Catholics in the south country. Many dissuaded him from this, on account of the dangers he exposed himself to; for there were great disturbances in the south also; and the Protestants there, especially in Galloway, had been always more inimical to the Catholics than in any other part of the kingdom. But notwithstanding the danger, he had many pressing reasons which determined him to go. The Catholics in the south longed much to see a Bishop among them; and he longed as much to see them, to inquire into the state of religion, and to admonish and encourage both pastors and flock. Besides, Confirmation was wanted in many places, especially in Galloway, which had been visited only once since the Mission had got a Bishop.

He set out in the beginning of June, and came to Angus, where he visited the principal Catholics scattered through that shire, gave Confirmation to such as were prepared, and left proper instructions with the missioners in that country. From thence he went to Perthshire, where he first visited a certain laird, who had a numerous family of children, about whose education he was very solicitous, and the Bishop gave his best

advice on the subject. Who this laird was, I cannot discover; unless he was the father of the Crichtons, who died at Dundee, but first resided near Stobhall, and had a small estate there. But, whoever he was, he lived, then, "in aditu provinciæ Perthanæ." He next went to the Marquis of Drummond's family, which must have been either at Stobhall or Drummond Castle, where the Marchioness, the daughter of the Duke of Gordon, being near her time, entreated him so earnestly to stay there till she should be brought to bed, that he found himself obliged to comply with her request. But that he might not lose time in the interim, he sent for two other missioners besides the one in the family, and held a little meeting with them to consult about the state of religion in that country, and how the interests of it might be promoted.

About twenty years before there was scarcely a Catholic in Perthshire, and all the conversions since that time were owing, under God, to the singular zeal of the Duke of Perth, who, when he was Chancellor, settled two missioners on his estate; and their number was still increasing, under the protection of that noble family, which emulated the family of Gordon in supporting the Catholic religion. Here the Bishop gave Confirmation, and received into the Church a lady of great parts and virtue. He also had a private conference with a minister, at his request; who, though he did not declare himself a Catholic, seemed to be convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion. From Perthshire he proceeded to Edinburgh; but as he wished to visit Galloway first, he did not enter the city, but lodged with a lady in the neighbourhood. He waited there till the principal clergyman at Edinburgh, who was to accompany him, joined him;

and about the beginning of July they set out for Galloway.

In passing through Tweeddale, the Bishop stopped two days at Traquair, out of regard to the Earl's mother-in-law and his children; for the Earl himself was not as yet returned from London, whither he had been called for reasons mentioned above. From Traquair he went to Nithsdale. It is to be observed that the Presbyterians in that country and in Galloway were much more prejudiced against the Catholics, and much more inveterate enemies to them than in any other part of the kingdom; for in other parts, Catholics and Protestants lived in society and commerce with one another in a friendly manner, and priests were esteemed, and their company and conversation sought after by Protestants. But in Galloway, they would scarce speak to a Catholic or stay in his company, and as for priests, they looked upon them as so many monsters. They were so superstitious and pharisaical that they thought it a profanation to contract friendships, or have any connection with those whom they looked on as heathens and idolators. In consequence of these dispositions the populace frequently rose against the Catholics in a fit of madness (without any authority from the civil magistrate, and for the most part at the instigation of the ministers), searched their houses for priests, Catholic books, and altar utensils, and so harassed them that no place was safe; and the priests were often obliged to pass the night in the open air in the dead of winter. There were many Puritans in that country, who affected a greater zeal and purity than the others; and these were the principal authors of these persecutions.

But it happened fortunately that from the time of the Union, about a year before, these furious Presby-

terians were become less inveterate against the Catholics, and more favourable to King James, on account of the hatred they bore to the Union, to the English, and to the Church of England. For these reasons, Bishop Gordon judged it a favourable opportunity to visit the country.

Being come to Nithsdale, he sent for the nearest missioner to consult with him about the measures to be taken to get the people assembled with as much caution and as little noise as possible; and it was agreed that he should hold different stations in the houses of the principal families, which he did. Those who wanted Confirmation, or wished to see him about other business, assembled in these houses; but they came, few in company, and their meetings were held either late at night or early in the morning. He inquired diligently into the lives and behaviour of the Catholics. He found that they were zealous for their religion, but that they were not well instructed. Wherefore he admonished the two missioners residing in the country to be more diligent in instructing them, and teaching them their Christian doctrine, both in public and private, and exhorted and animated all to persevere constantly under their tribulations and persecutions, in hopes of an everlasting reward, and especially to show their faith by good works and a holy life. The two missioners were Jesuits, who were very exemplary in their conduct, and received the Bishop's orders with submission. One of them lived in the Earl of Nithsdale's family: but the Bishop did not see the Earl or any of the family; for he was not returned from London, whither he had been carried prisoner, and the Countess and his only son had accompanied him.

The Bishop visited most of the other principal

families, but he had not time to see them all, being obliged to leave the country sooner than he wished or expected. The people were all sorry to part with him so soon; but he comforted them with the promise of his often returning to that country. The reason why he departed so soon was because the Catholics were threatened with mobbing in a parish belonging to a certain minister more furious than the others. His followers having taken a pretext from the baptism of a child of a Catholic father, which the priest had performed in that parish, rumour of a riot was spread abroad: however, nothing further happened at that time. From the best accounts the Bishop could get, the number of Catholics in Galloway and Nithsdale exceeded four hundred.

On his return to Traquair, as the Earl was not arrived from London, the Bishop stayed there some time to await his coming. In the meantime he employed himself in instructing his lordship's children in faith and piety, and gave Confirmation to some of them, viz., three sons and four daughters. The Earl being arrived, the Bishop treated with him about many very important concerns, but chiefly about a priest properly qualified to serve the family, and have charge of his children's education.

1709

In the beginning of this year there was great apprehension of an invasion, and 6000 English troops were sent down to prevent insurrection in case of an invasion; for the English were very diffident of the Scots, well knowing their attachment to the family of Stuart. The Catholics and missioners enjoyed some

degree of quiet during the dead of winter; but it did not last long, for Scotland and England were now become one nation. The case of the Catholics in the former kingdom was very different from that of those in the latter; because the ministers in Scotland were much more inveterate enemies to them than those in England, and were perpetually contriving new methods of thwarting and distressing them. The persecutions they had raised for about sixty years back were chiefly confined to the procuring orders for making a strict search for priests, and for apprehending them, and condemning them to imprisonment or banishment. The cruel and iniquitous laws enacted in the last years of King William were levelled against both priests and lay persons; and it seemed scarcely possible to add anything to the severity of them.

But their malice and spite this year suggested to them a refinement in the execution of these laws. After the Union with England, the administration of justice in Scotland was in part new modelled, and circuit courts regularly established. In several parts of the country, the magistrates, at the instigation of the ministers, summoned the Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, and even some ladies before the courts, and impeached them of high treason, for harbouring priests and hearing Mass. Those who were principally impeached were such as lived in those districts where the Catholics were more numerous, and where more frequent conversions took place, and where the Catholics had lived in greater tranquillity formerly, their numbers and rank procuring them some protection. This showed that the new method of persecution proceeded chiefly from the spite and jealousy which the ministers, like the Pharisees of old, conceived on seeing so many

conversions; for about the same time, they raised a persecution in a certain town, which was probably Dundee, where there were few Catholics, against Mr John Wallace, who was a most pious and zealous missioner.[1] The only cause of complaint they had to allege against him was that he had reconciled to the Church two or three of the principal people of the place; and as the Catholics were few, and there was no nobleman of their number to protect them, the ministers on this occasion were so implacable against them and harassed them so much, that Mr Wallace was obliged to leave the place for a time; in fact, he rejoiced to have the honour of suffering in so good a cause. Though their spite was principally directed against him, yet the few Catholics, and especially the converts he had made, had their share in this persecution; but to his great comfort, they bore it with great constancy and Christian dispositions. The priest, who had been summoned before the circuit courts, did not think it prudent to appear, but all the lay persons made their appearance; and as the judges were inclined to lenity, they were only frightened with threats and terrors, and after much trouble and expense were dismissed. This happened in the spring, but to the circuit court in the month of October a much greater number were summoned, including nine priests, among whom Bishop Gordon himself was named; and all persons were empowered to apprehend, insult, and drag them to prison, and a reward promised to anyone who should take any of them.

There was no other crime alleged against any of

[1] Mr John Wallace, son of Patrick Wallace, Provost of Arbroath, was summoned to appear before the Justiciary Court at Perth in the spring circuit of 1709, for apostatising to the Popish religion, and trafficking and perverting others. But he did not appear and was outlawed.—*Scotichronicon.*

them, but only that they said Mass, and made converts to the Catholic faith. Three lay persons were also banished, under pain of death if they ever returned to Scotland; and their moveables were confiscated. No other crime was laid to their charge, but that they harboured priests, and had Mass said in their houses. What was particularly cruel in this persecution, and had never been heard of since the Reformation, was that Catholics were obliged to give evidence against Catholics; and one witness was declared by these unjust judges to be sufficient to condemn a Catholic. It was with the greatest difficulty that many other Catholics were exempted from the same sentence; and yet they were not acquitted, and all that could be obtained was that their cause should be deferred to another time. In the interim they were kept in cruel suspense and ignorant of their fate. The ministers (not content with such cruelties as were exercised against the Catholics by the court, by magistrates, and by persons in office at their instigation) bethought themselves of another method of distressing the poor Catholics. This was to importune noblemen and gentlemen to banish Catholic tenants out of their lands, unless they bound themselves by oath to frequent the Protestant kirks; and several of the lairds and proprietors began to put this scheme in execution, in the same manner as we have seen attempted by a certain laird in our days. Nevertheless, by the blessing of God, and the zeal and activity of the missioners, not one apostatised, or went to their kirks.

The missioners, though they were obliged to go about their functions with the greatest caution, yet did not omit their ordinary labours; nay, they redoubled their vigilance and solicitude. So far were they from

being discouraged, that their firmness and resolution to confirm their flocks seemed to grow in proportion to the trials they met with. There was not one of the proscribed priests who ever thought of abandoning the country or his flock; nay, they all declared that though they should be imprisoned and banished, they would return immediately, and would not be deterred from their duty by death itself. This rigorous persecution did not hinder many converts from entering the Church; and at this time, there was scarcely any place near the station of a missioner, where frequent conversions did not happen: but the districts in which this was principally observed were Strathbogie, Glenlivet, Strathaven, Braemar, Strathglass, and Glengarry. The Vicar of the Highlands actually converted more than sixty persons in a few weeks; and the zeal and fervour of some of these new converts was so great that it gave edification to all, and served as an example even to the old Catholics.

This persecution, so severe in its smart, and so alarming in its consequences, gave great pain and anxiety to the Bishops, and their attention was constantly directed to the necessities and sufferings of the whole Mission, and their thoughts employed how to procure a mitigation of it. Their principal confidence was in the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of magistrates and princes, and who can turn them as He pleases. To Him, therefore, they had recourse by fervent prayer, beseeching Him to restore peace to the Mission, and recommended the same to all pious persons. But though their principal reliance was on the Almighty, they did not neglect human means; for they used all methods, both themselves and by friends, to appease the minds of the magistrates and judges,

and to procure a mitigation of the persecution. After giving a relation of it to the Congregation of Propaganda, they begged of their Eminences to apply to his Holiness to recommend earnestly to the Catholic courts, who had ambassadors at London, to give them strict and express instructions to present strong remonstrances to the court of England in favour of the Catholics of Scotland. But they insisted that such remonstrances should be made with firmness and constancy, till a mitigation of the persecution should be obtained, in consequence of orders from the court. For the court, on occasion of such applications, frequently denied that a persecution existed in any part of Britain, because it was not carried on by any authority or warrant from them. The petitioners added that they had authentic documents to show other innumerable hardships which the Catholics every day underwent. Such was the situation of the poor Catholics during this year.

I shall now give some account of the labours of the two Bishops. Besides their general solicitude for the whole Mission, they also bore a considerable share of pastoral labour; for as the Missions were not able to serve and succour all persons and places, the Bishops supplied where there was greatest need. Bishop Nicolson assisted the Catholics at Banff and its neighbourhood at Christmas and Easter.

There lived at that time a most noble lady at Banff, who was probably the Duke of Gordon's mother, for I find her residing there some years before. Bishop Gordon served during winter a station which was vacant, as he had removed the missioners to Edinburgh. Afterwards he visited some other parts, and especially Aberdeen, where he conferred with the missioners

DRUM CASTLE, The Keep from the North-East.

From MacGibbon and Ross's "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland" (D. Douglass).

about the current affairs of the Mission, and took an inventory of the books and utensils belonging to it, which he sent to Mr Irvine, the Procurator. There were at that time three priests at Aberdeen, viz., a clergyman, a Benedictine Monk, and Fr. Maxwell, Superior of the Scots Jesuits. They also treated in this meeting of the legacy left to the Mission some years before by Mr Francis Irvine. This was a very considerable sum of about 48,000 livres left to the Mission for pious uses, and especially for the support of missioners, by Mr Irvine of Drum. But his sudden death, and that of a Catholic gentleman, his trustee, together with the fact of his leaving the money to Propaganda in trust for the above purposes, threw his affairs into confusion; for the Protestants, getting notice of the matter, by the laws of the country, defrauded the Mission of the bequest. There was for a while some prospect of getting something by way of compromise; but now all hopes were lost. This was a very great loss to the Mission; for such a considerable sum at this time would have been a great relief.

CHAPTER VIII

LETTERS AND REPORTS

Introductory Note

Having traversed almost the whole of Scotland, Bishop Gordon wrote to Father Tamburini, General of the Jesuits, a letter commending the labours of the Fathers of the Society (pp. 252-254).

The years 1709 and 1710 were saddened by increasing persecution (p. 255). Bishop Gordon and seven missionaries were proclaimed outlaws, and three men of note, who were accustomed to receive priests into their houses, were put in prison and then ordered to leave the country (p. 255).

Bishop Gordon, in a letter dated 3rd of June 1710, observes that all the missionaries have displayed great fortitude and devotion. Though surrounded by perils and trials of the severest kind, not one has been induced to intermit any part of his duty to the people (p. 256).

Bishop James Gordon *to* Father Michael Angelo Tamburini, General of the Jesuits.

26*th* May 1709.

Very Reverend Father,

It is nearly a year since I wrote to your Reverence, and I have just heard that my letter never reached you, so I gladly undertake the same duty again.

Having travelled over almost the whole of Scotland, and visited all the pastors and people committed to my charge by the Holy Apostolic See, there is scarcely one of the Fathers of your Society labouring in this country whom I have not seen and made acquaintance with, and I can assert with no little satisfaction that I found all your Fathers submissive and obedient to authority, as well as earnestly engaged in the discharge of their functions. I trust that God, Who has inspired them with so pious a resolution, will also give them perseverance in their sacred purpose and in the prosecution of their labours. I acted towards them with special goodwill and favour, and scarcely ever had to refuse anything they asked of me, and I shall always continue, as far as is in my power, to exhibit towards them the same charity and regard. It has always been my principal care to encourage peace and concord among all the missionary priests, and especially between the secular clergy and the Fathers of your Society, and embrace all equally with the same ardent affection and paternal kindness. For I am certain of nothing more than this, that the divine benediction will be more abundantly poured forth upon our labours in proportion as peace, love, charity, and concord flourish between us in more intimate perfection, nor can any greater calamity overtake us, than the slightest disagreement between ecclesiastics.

Among all the Fathers of your Society there are scarcely any against whom I could possibly find any ground of complaint, with one exception, and as regards this one,[1] I hope the matter will admit of being arranged by the Reverend Father Stephen Maxwell, who is a man of extraordinary wisdom, in

[1] *Cf.* Letter of Bishop James Gordon, dated 3rd June 1710, p. 256.

such a way as to set things right without trouble or tumult.

If I am disappointed in this, I will refer the whole matter to the equitable judgment of your Reverence, and I shall ask nothing which is not so obviously necessary as to admit of no possible doubt.

May Almighty God long preserve your Reverence in safety.

I am, Very Reverend Father,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

✠ James, Bishop of Nicopolis,
Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic in Scotland.

Mouth of the Spey, *vij. Kal. Jun.* 1709.

Father Fordyce *to the same.*

Douay, 17*th December* 1709.

Very Reverend Father in Christ,

Pax Christi.

I write as Consultor of the Scottish College at Douay, to wish your Paternity a happy New Year and all prosperity, and returning grateful thanks, in my own name and that of many Fathers of the Society, and other Catholics whom I have met, for your bestowing the Rectorship of the Scottish College at Rome once more upon a Scottish Father, a favour which has conduced in no small degree to increase the reputation of the Society in Scotland.

From Scotland.—"Letters received yesterday from Scotland report a great persecution set on foot there

against the Catholics, without any new provocation. In one district only, Father Stephen Maxwell, the Superior of our Mission, with four other Fathers of the Society, and Bishop Gordon, who is known to your Paternity, with three secular priests, being summoned before a court, and not appearing, were proclaimed outlaws, which means that any person who likes may apprehend and bring them into court. The Fathers and priests prudently made their escape, knowing that the lightest penalty they would incur if caught, was imprisonment or banishment; but three men of note and good character, who were accustomed to receive priests into their houses, were apprehended and put in prison, and their moveable property confiscated to the Treasury, and they themselves required to go abroad within three months."

If this is done in one province, what will be done throughout the kingdom? We are more afraid of what will befall laymen who extend their hospitality to priests than for the priests themselves; for these last, if they suffer imprisonment, banishment, or even death, will not thereby occasion the downfall of religion, for there will be no want of other priests generous enough to come forward willingly to supply their places. Not to detain your Reverence by a long letter from more important affairs which require your attention, I commend myself to your most holy sacrifices, and remain sincerely,

Very Reverend Father in Christ,

Your most humble servant in Christ,

Robert Fordyce.

BISHOP JAMES GORDON *to the same.*

3rd June 1710.

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

I was delighted to receive the letter of your Reverence, written last September, and saw with the greatest pleasure the sweetness, equity, zeal, and love of peace and concord which it displays. Only you pay far too high a tribute to me, and I need not say how little I deserve it. There is nothing to be praised in me except some love for the Church, for the souls of men, and for peace, and a sincere reverence for all ecclesiastical and religious orders and institutes, and a degree of goodwill towards your Society which is not, I think, to be found in everyone. There is therefore nothing I like better than an opportunity of testifying my affection towards your Fathers.

Such an opportunity of showing no ordinary care and goodwill towards the Fathers of your Society, and the flocks entrusted to them, has presented itself more than once during the severe persecution under which we are now suffering. I have now just cause to congratulate your Reverence upon the fortitude and piety which your Fathers have displayed, which indeed have been remarkable in all our missionary priests, not one of whom, though surrounded by menaces, perils, and trials of the severest kind, has been induced to intermit any part of his duty to the people.

I hinted in my last letter that I had some ground of complaint against one of your Fathers. I wrote that under a misapprehension, being misled by the person who had the best knowledge of the transaction, for it is upon him, in truth, that the principal cause of scandal rests. This I heard with great satisfaction on my

return from the Highlands, whither I was just setting out at the time I wrote.

I cannot refrain from commending the energy of the Superior of your Fathers, who had foreseen and prevented the inconvenience to which I refer, and his earnest desire of peace, which disposed him strongly to approve and help in carrying out all the measures which I myself and Bishop Nicolson[1] thought necessary to remove the scandal in question. My satisfaction on this occasion was augmented by the kind and charitable sentiments expressed in the letter addressed to him by your Reverence, which he sent me to read. I should be equally unjust and ungrateful if I did not cherish the most friendly sentiments towards your Fathers, and study in every way to provide for their comfort; this I shall always endeavour to do, as is due to their own merit and my great regard for your Reverence, whom may God long preserve in safety to your Society and His holy Church.

I am, Very Reverend Father,

Your most obliged and humble servant,

✠ James, Bishop of Nicopolis,

Coadjutor Vicar Apostolic in Scotland.

Edinburgh, 3*rd June* 1710.

Father James Levistone *to the same.*

Edinburgh, 9*th September* 1712.

Most Illustrious Sir,

I wrote to Mr Forbes three months ago to inform your Lordship that I was about to visit our Fathers in the north of Scotland, which, by God's help, I have now done.

[1] Bishop of Peristachium, Vicar Apostolic in Scotland.

They are all quite well, and faithfully engaged in the discharge of their duties in such a way as to obtain the praise of everyone, especially of the illustrious Lords, Bruce and Gordon, with whom I spent two days, and who assured me that the care and solicitude displayed by our Fathers leaves nothing to be desired.

The four Fathers who live in the Highlands, Forbes,[1] Strachan,[2] Seton,[3] and Innes, are very badly off, having hardly a bed to sleep on, for they have no couch but the straw. They have neither wine nor beer to drink, but only water and milk, and they eat barley bread, not over well prepared; but they bear it all with unfailing good temper, giving all their attention to the care of the poor, with no insignificant results. Mr Macrae, one of these four, has made over two hundred converts to the Catholic faith since he took charge of the district of Strathglass. Mr Ramsay, otherwise Strachan, has induced a great many to receive the true faith in the district of Braemar, which is his station. Seton and Innes, whose work is near the hills, have converted large numbers of heretics.

The list of those who reside in the Lowlands is, Mr Ross[4] in the district of Buchan in Aberdeenshire, Mr Maxwell with the Earl of Leslie in Fetternear, Mr Black, *alias* Russell, with the Marchioness of Seaforth, Mr

[1] Entered in Foley, *Records* vii. (1) 474, as MacRae or M'Cra, without any mention of his alternative name of Forbes. "Meara" of Foley, vii. (1) 392, *sub voce* Innes, John (1) is clearly a mistake for "Macrae."

[2] Father Hugh Strachan, Foley, *Records* vii. (2) 743.

[3] For a short account of this holy and zealous missioner, Father Robert Seton, see Foley, *Records* vii. (2) 700.

[4] Most probably Father Alexander Seton *alias* Ross. Foley accepts the assertion that Father Alexander Seton administered his first Communion to young Hay (afterwards Bishop Hay); but it is much more probable that Father John (3) Seton, who received Hay also gave him his first Communion. Hay did not go abroad till after 1749.

Durhan at Edinburgh, and lastly myself, who am obliged to travel over every part of the province entrusted to me.

Conversions vary in different places, but all are working energetically in the districts where they reside, and by God's favour many are brought back to the bosom of the Church by means of their exertions. I must not omit to mention the district of Galloway, which is worked by Mr Hudson, a prudent and religious man, who lives with the Earl of Nithsdale, and is most diligent in the discharge of his duties, and by Mr Maxwell, who, though an invalid, is as active as any in the cultivation of the Lord's vineyard, exposing himself to many perils day and night, all which he happily escapes, to the great benefit of souls, and his indefatigable labours have added many to the Church.

When with Mr Maxwell, I took his account of the expenditure during his administration very accurately rendered, and will send it to your Lordship, if you think it worth while, though it is rather long, as it includes the accounts for seven years.

I suppose you have received from Mr Durhan, and from Mr Fairfull, who is now at Paris, an account of our revenues at that place, for what we have here comes to nothing. Our legacies are not paid, or there is very little hope of them, and the Catholics, to whom money was lent by my predecessors, do not seem to intend to pay at all. We can neither get principal nor interest. The whole amount due from legacies not paid, and money advanced, would, if realised, amount to 24,000 livres French, the whole of which, in my judgment and that of others, is as good as lost, so that we have no resource except such friends as may happen to be at Paris.

James Levistone.

BISHOP JAMES GORDON *to* FATHER GENERAL.

3rd December 1711.

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

I have at length time to breathe after a most laborious visitation of the Highlands, Islands, and other parts of this kingdom, which has occupied me a year and more, and been protracted until this time.

The approach of winter having set me free, I gladly take my pen to write to your Reverence, though I have nothing of importance to say, except to renew in writing the testimony of the sincerest friendship and affection.

In my journey through every part of this Mission, I saw nearly all the Fathers of your Society, and cannot praise too highly their laborious piety and zeal. In none of them I found anything to complain of or regret, and in many, much which caused me solace and congratulation. In the south, I met with a Father just arrived from Belgium—the veteran soldier whom you have sent back to battle, whose zeal and virtue have already been proved sufficiently on these shores, and who I hope will be an admirable worker in the future, if only his fervour can be tempered with prudence and moderation.

I also saw a younger Father, who came over with him, and who, though he has been only a short time among us, has given no small hope to many of us of his future.

The Reverend Father who is now Superior is a man of extraordinary wisdom, benevolence, high character, and knowledge of business, so that no one could suit us better, and if he is to be removed, as I hear is likely, it is our principal comfort that we are quite sure your

Reverence will not appoint anyone to that situation, who is not commended to us all by modesty, excellence, and good sense, and who will not earnestly join in promoting good understanding and concord with us. If there is anything in which I could be useful to your Reverence, or to the humblest member of your Society, I shall be delighted to do it, as a proof how highly I value your interests in this Mission. Meanwhile, I pray the Almighty to fill your Reverence with His Spirit, and long preserve you to your Society and to the Church.

I am, Very Reverend Father,
Your most humble and obliged servant,
✠ JAMES, Bishop of Nicopolis,
Coadjutor and Vicar Apostolic of Scotland.

Near PERTH, 3*rd December* 1711.

CHAPTER IX

THE FINAL STRUGGLE

Introductory Note

During the reigns of Anne, George I., and George II. the social, moral, and religious condition of Scotland remained the same as under William III. Catholics were bitterly persecuted, and their resources gradually diminished. It seemed as though further resistance were impossible. For many families indeed, it was a last struggle. In the case of the rich, the untimely death of a father might deprive his descendants for ever of the faith (p. 266); in the case of the poor, whole families were blotted out by famine and other calamities.

In the midst of the winter of 1710, Bishop Gordon had gone to Edinburgh to procure some mitigation of the persecution and of the sentence of banishment against three Catholic gentlemen. But in vain; the circuit courts, in the month of May, were more cruel than usual. In Mar the Catholics were dragged to the Kirk and some were starved to death. In Glenlivet and Strathaven some abandoned the faith (p. 269). Mr Carnegie then obtained access to the Duke of Queensberry, Secretary of State for Scotland, who promised his assistance to obtain redress. The Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary for England, and the other ministers were moved to compassion for the Catholics and promised speedy relief. Orders were sent in the Queen's name to all the Lords of Justiciary not to persecute the Catholics, provided they kept the peace (p. 273).

In the month of April 1711, the magistrates of Edinburgh apprehended Father Mackie, a Benedictine, who was sentenced to be banished. But relying on the orders sent to the Lords of Session from the Ministry, the year before, Father Mackie appealed from the sentence to the Court of Session. The court proved favourable to Father Mackie, and the magistrates were defeated.

The persecution having ceased, the missionaries were able to instruct their people regularly and gained a rich harvest of converts (p. 277).

1714.—At the death of Queen Anne on the 1st of August 1714, a strict search was made for priests, and several of the principal Catholics were thrown into prison. Lord Drummond and the Marquis of Huntly narrowly escaped. The new Ministry were bitter enemies of Catholics (p. 282).

1716.—Prince James Stuart landed in Scotland on the 22nd of December 1714, and after a brilliant campaign returned to France on the 10th of February 1716. Unfortunately we have no memoirs for this war, to compare with the letters from the chaplains to Montrose's soldiers, which were printed in the previous volume. After this, the Catholics were still more obnoxious to the Government; many noblemen lost their estates, others escaped to the Continent. Two or three missioners were apprehended. The Jacobite party was for a time entirely suppressed, and everything became quieter (p. 284).

1716.—This year the Duke of Perth died at St Germains. The Duke of Gordon died in Scotland on the 18th of December. The following year the Mission sustained a great loss in the death of Bishop Nicolson. The persecution of Catholics was resumed, and the Government seized the estates of the Duke of Perth. Parliament, however, acknowledged the rights of his son. The Duchess had much to suffer at the hands of the Protestant friends of the family, and was obliged to take her children to France (p. 289).

On a Sunday in May 1722, a search was made in the house of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon in Edinburgh. The constables rushed into her bedroom with fixed bayonets, searched the house, and apprehended Bishop Wallace and eleven Catholics, who were sent to prison (p. 290). The young Duchess of Perth was still exposed to great trouble both from Government and from her Protestant friends, on account of her two sons whom she had carried abroad the year before (p. 290).

The new Parliament of 1723 proved extremely hostile. A bill imposing a tax of £100,000 on the Catholics in general, passed both houses of Parliament. The fine was rigorously exacted, and ruined many families. A new oath of allegiance was prescribed under the greatest penalties, which no Catholic could take without renouncing his religion (p. 294). Next year, however, the foreign ambassadors with their friends so importuned the court, that the Act was mitigated and deprived of its terrors (p. 298).

About Whitsuntide 1726, when the missionaries least expected it, several bodies of light troops were sent to surprise and apprehend them. Mr Shaw, betrayed by a false friend, was taken and sent to the prison at Inverness (p. 304). A more grievous misfortune befell the Mission in 1728. This was the death of the Duke of Gordon, who was cut off in the flower of his youth, in the month of November. His sons were immediately delivered over to Protestant tutors. The chapels in Fochabers and the Castle were shut up (p. 312).

1730.—There was no general persecution this year. In some places there were very cruel proceedings. In the Isle of Mull Catholics were dragged to the Kirk, and where they showed great reluctance, they were cruelly beaten (p. 316). The number of missionaries now began to decrease. Many were ready to become Catholics, but there were no pastors to instruct them (p. 316). In a certain city, which Bishop Gordon does not name, but calls *insigne oppidum*, a greater number than ever had been remembered, showed a great inclination to the Catholic Faith, and many of them embraced it, and some of them were deprived of the freedom of the city (p. 320).

Mr Macdonald was appointed Bishop on the 13th of February 1631. Bishop Macdonald chose the Isle of Morar for the seat of the new Seminary and began the building in July 1735 (p. 324). During the year 1741, the famine was extreme, particularly in the Highlands, and many died of hunger. The only resource they had to preserve their lives was to bleed their cattle every other day, and to support life with that food. About Stobhall, and other parts of Perthshire, entire families from the Highlands were found dead in the ditches or behind hedges (p. 327).

Some account of the state of Religion in Scotland from the year 1710 *to the year* 1729, *by the* Rev. John Thompson.

1710

The ministers at this time formed a design to extirpate Catholics and the Catholic religion out of Scotland by sheer force. For this end was set on foot their "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge," the

avowed purpose of which was to banish the Catholic religion from the nation, and especially from the Highlands. They preached strongly in favour of this institution, urging the people to favour so pious an undertaking, and flattering them with the hope of seeing an end to popery in the kingdom. So that the people, on fire with the same enthusiasm, gave, out of false zeal, very liberal contributions.

This was one of the severest trials the Mission had ever met with, and the most alarming in its effects; nor were the Bishops and missioners so much concerned for their present sufferings and those of their flocks, as for the pernicious consequences of this persecution, if it lasted any time. The principal Catholics were summoned before the circuit courts and banished from Scotland for life under pain of death. Three were already under that sentence; they were driven from their wives, children, friends, business, and possessions; their moveables were seized and confiscated; and their poor families reduced to the greatest misery and distress at home, as they themselves were abroad. Others were threatened with, and expecting the same sentence. The ministers ran about those districts where the Catholics were most numerous; threatened them with penalties, unless they renounced their religion, and went to the Protestant kirks, and declared they would do so through the whole kingdom and spare none. All were intimidated and alarmed; Catholics were exposed to violent temptation and imminent danger of apostatising from their religion, and Protestants were deterred from embracing it.

The missioners, besides their concern for their flocks and common share in their sufferings, were exposed to a new distress. As Catholics were obnoxious to such

dangers and penalties for harbouring a priest (some being already banished for that reason), the priests for the most part did not know whither to betake themselves, for fear of creating danger to the Catholics on their account. They were thereby reduced to great distress, and had great difficulty to procure for themselves some poor hard fare to live on at a great expense, being obliged to buy everything, as they could not be assisted by their people as formerly. If the Missions were poor before, when means of living were more easily procured, it may be easily conceived to what a degree of indigence they were now reduced by this persecution, and were like to be reduced in time to come. The Bishops and missioners easily foresaw whither this persecution tended, and what dismal consequences it portended in a short time to the Catholic religion in Scotland; to wit, nothing less than its total extinction in a few years.

This danger, and the general terror and alarm which the rigour of the persecution had excited among Catholics throughout the nation, particularly and most keenly affected Bishop Gordon. Seeing dangers multiplying on all hands, he determined to return to Edinburgh in the middle of winter, notwithstanding the perils, difficulties, and inconveniences of such a journey at that season of the year; and in fact, he was in no small danger of his life in crossing the Grampian Hills. Having arrived at Edinburgh, he left nothing undone which his zeal and prudence could suggest, in order to procure a mitigation of the persecution, and of the sentence of banishment against the three exiled gentlemen. He spared neither pains nor expense to gain friends and to conciliate the favour of the judges. In this he was assisted by the principal Catholic nobility

then at Edinburgh, viz., the Duchess of Gordon, the Marquis of Huntly, the Marquis of Drummond, the Earl of Traquair, and others, who waited frequently on the Lords of Justiciary, and represented to them the atrocity of the injustice done to Roman Catholics, contrary to all laws, human and divine.

The better to ensure success, the ablest counsel was employed, and such efficacious means were employed to soften the judges, that they had conceived great hopes, either of getting the sentence of banishment against the three Catholics reversed, or the execution of it so long delayed till it should be forgot, and thus be rendered ineffectual; for the judges, when spoken to singly, seemed to be both equitable and favourable. But the Presbyterian ministers were so importunate and clamorous, that all our endeavours were defeated, and our hopes disappointed, for notwithstanding all our pains and expenses, nothing could be obtained, and the three exiled persons were obliged to depart the kingdom at the time prefixed by the sentence. The fanatic ministers were elated with this victory, and exulted with uncommon joy. They became much more insolent to the Catholics, and went about with a furious zeal, threatening them with ruin and destruction, and using every means to extirpate them and the Catholic Faith out of Scotland.

Bishop Gordon and the Catholic nobility, seeing that this attempt to procure a mitigation of the persecution had miscarried, did not despond, but consulted as to what was to be done. Some of them proposed that he himself should go up to London to represent their case to foreign ambassadors, to the Court itself, and to friends there. He was willing to undertake the matter, and none was thought so well qualified; but such was

the situation of affairs at home that his presence was necessary at Edinburgh. However, all agreed that some person should be sent; and accordingly Mr Carnegie was pitched upon for that purpose, and was sent to London with proper instructions and letters of recommendation to friends there. This happened in spring. After having settled this matter, Bishop Gordon sent a full account of the suffering state of the missioners and Catholics to Propaganda, to St Germains, and to other friends. He informed them of the steps they had taken at home to procure relief, and begged of them to co-operate with Mr Carnegie at London in this new attempt to put a stop to the persecution. In particular, he begged of Propaganda to represent their cause to his Holiness, and to obtain letters to the Nuncios at the Catholic courts, and especially to those at courts in alliance with England, with orders to treat with them for procuring strong and efficacious recommendations and instructions to their ambassadors residing in London to intercede for a cessation or mitigation of the persecution, as had been formerly done with good success on like occasions. The Duke of Perth, who had been always a nursing father to the Mission, and interested himself with the greatest zeal in anything that concerned it, signalised himself on this occasion. He wrote a long letter to the Nuncios at Brussels and Paris, informing them of the circumstances of the persecution, and of the dangerous consequences of it, begging of them to interest themselves in behalf of the sufferers. He also wrote in the same terms to Cardinal Sacripanti; representing, moreover, to him the distresses of the missioners, and the necessity of an extraordinary subsidy in such trying times. Mr Thomas Innes waited on the Nuncio at Paris again and again, and gave him long

memorials concerning the persecution, and solicited his interest; and this Nuncio wrote both to Rome and to the Nuncio at Brussels, and to envoys elsewhere on that subject. . . .

But in the meantime the persecution began to rage with greater fury than ever; for the circuit courts in the month of May were more cruel than usual towards the Catholics. In Galloway and Nithsdale many Catholics were threatened, and two converts were thrown into prison, for no other reason than because they had embraced the Catholic religion; and the faithful in general were so much intimidated by the severity of the judges, that two persons were prevailed on to go to the Protestant kirk, though they declared they did it against their conscience.

In Perthshire Mr Wallace was "fugitate," *i.e.*, proscribed for non-compearance; and hardly could he find a safe retreat in any part of the kingdom, so enraged were the ministers against him. At Edinburgh the missioners with the greatest difficulty escaped the hands of their pursuers. In Mar priests and Catholics were so much harassed with pursuits and threats, not only by the ministers, but also by certain noblemen and gentlemen, and by all the lower classes, that some were compelled to go or were dragged to the kirks, and some were starved to death; while the priests, who formerly lived in great peace, now scarcely dared to appear there in the dead of night. In Glenlivet and Strathaven both priests and people were so much plagued by the continual persecution of the ministers and justices of the peace, that some of them apostatised. At Aberdeen, many Catholics, both men and women, were obliged to appear before the circuit court; and many of them could not obtain the favour to be tried

there, for their trial was deferred in order to procure new witnesses; and they in the meantime lived in cruel uncertainty, and underwent new hardships. Before the same court were cited several priests, and among them Bishop Gordon, but designed only under the name of a priest like the others, though he had been fugitated and proscribed before; but by the favour and interest of a certain nobleman, no sentence was pronounced against him, or any of the priests at this court.

In the far Highlands, orders were sent to the officers in the garrisons to apprehend either by force or fraud the principal missioners; and priests and Catholics there had their share in the common calamity. The ministers in the meantime went about everywhere, taking down the names of Catholics, in order to cite them before the circuit courts; and openly declared that they would never desist from persecuting them, until they should reduce them to misery and want, or oblige them to go to the kirk.

It is very remarkable how few renounced their religion, notwithstanding the violence of these persecutions and temptations. This was owing under God to the indefatigable zeal of the two Bishops and of the missioners. The two prelates, both by word and example, encouraged the zeal of pastors and people; and they, especially Bishop Gordon, went here and there, to animate the weak, confirm the strong, and inspire new vigour into all. The missioners never omitted their usual labours and functions; and in the greatest heat of the persecution, not one of them abandoned his flock, and though in great distress, by day and by night they assisted, animated, instructed, and comforted them, and administered the Sacraments;

hence their constancy, fervour, and piety was confirmed and increased, and their prayers redoubled. If in certain places some apostatised, in every part of the kingdom some converts were won to the Church; and so great was the grace of God, and the diligence of the missioners, that several of the apostates who had yielded under the first shock of persecution, returned with tears, and, with manifest signs of repentance, petitioned to be reconciled to the Church. But while the persecution seemed to be at its height, and was raging with the greatest violence against the Catholics, and their case appeared to be desperate, the Almighty was pleased to send them aid and relief from a quarter they had but little reason to expect. Providence raised up for them in the very court of London, friends who were moved to compassion at the recital of the hardships and undeserved persecution which they endured.

I must now return to Mr Carnegie, and give some account of his negotiations in London. Though he was well recommended from Rome, and though he managed the business with great zeal, prudence, and dexterity, he met with scant encouragement from the ambassadors, and was but little supported by the Nuncio at Brussels. After spending a great deal of time in treating with them, he could not get them to enter heartily into the cause, and exert themselves in favour of the Roman Catholics. The Imperial Ambassador was very kind, but said he was pledged to use his credit in favour of the Irish Catholics, and accordingly endeavoured to make light of the sufferings of those in Scotland. The Ambassador of Portugal, having married an Irish lady, was entirely for Ireland, and did not pay great attention to the Scots. The kindest and heartiest of all the

ministers, Mr Carnegie found, was the Envoy of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who really espoused his cause, and exerted himself with great earnestness, but as he was alone and unsupported, his influence was insufficient. At this stage of the business, Mr Carnegie began to be very uneasy, and even something diffident about the success of it; his mind was divided between hope and fear, but trusting in God, he resolved to leave no means untried to gain his end.

Seeing, therefore, so little hope of doing anything by means of the foreign ambassadors at London, he took courage, and bethought himself of applying to the Scottish nobility in London; many of whom he knew. By their means he got access to the Duke of Queensberry, Secretary of State for Scotland, to whom he represented the matter, and presented a petition in the name of the Catholics in Scotland, containing an account of the sufferings and hardships they met with from the Justiciary Courts. This account His Grace, being well informed of Scottish affairs, in consequence of his office, knew to be true from other sources. He was very courteously received by His Grace, who considered his petition, and promised him his assistance in obtaining redress.

Mr Carnegie, encouraged by this reception, presented a similar petition to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for England, which was also graciously received, and he got these petitions recommended to both those ministers by the principal Scots nobility at London. The ministers were moved to compassion at the sight of so much injustice and oppression, and gave him the strongest assurance of a speedy relief. The consequence was that in a very short time after, the Lord of Justiciary, who had been the most violent persecutor

of the Roman Catholics, and had by his example encouraged others to persecute them, was deprived of his office, and orders were sent in the Queen's name to all the Lords of Justiciary, not to persecute the Catholics in any manner on account of religion, provided they lived peaceably, and raised no disturbances. Thus the Almighty, Who uses what instruments He pleases, brought about by means of Protestants what had been attempted and in vain expected through the interest of foreign Catholic ambassadors, and the Catholics might have cried out on this occasion *Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*

This unexpected success in obtaining relief was received by the Catholics in Scotland with the greatest surprise and thankfulness to the divine Goodness, from which alone they acknowledged it. They soon began to feel its good effects, and conceived better hopes for the future; for the lay Catholics who were cited before the courts were very kindly and civilly treated at the ensuing autumn circuits by the judges, though some of them were not great friends to Catholics. But the case of the missioners was widely different; for it was not to be expected that the court would write in their favour; hence not only a great number was cited before this court, but three of them were even made fugitate and proscribed, among whom was Bishop Nicolson himself, though only under the designation of a priest. But this persecution gave less concern to them, being less prejudicial to religion, seeing that the laity enjoyed peace, and there was no remedy but patience and confidence in the divine protection. But though the persecution had in a great measure slackened, yet as it had been so severe, its effects did not immediately cease; and it was some time before priests or people

could recover from the shock they had experienced. The priests in particular were reduced to great distress and want by the sufferings endured during the persecution, and they still continued liable to many hardships, and were obliged to lie hid, till they should see what effect would be produced by the orders sent from London to the judges. The people were in such misery and want through the calamities of the times, that they had to be succoured by the missioners, instead of being in a condition to contribute anything to their support. The sight of so much misery and the complaints of the sufferers pierced the hearts of the two Bishops, and made them apply again to Rome to hasten the payment of the promised extraordinary subsidy, which they received about this time, and which proved a most seasonable relief. Another reason which moved the Bishops to insist with so much importunity on the subsidy, was the additional expense necessary for the support of the schools. The ministers had collected immense sums to establish their new society for planting Protestancy and expelling Catholicism, out of the Highlands especially, and had opened many schools in those parts. The Bishops were desirous to oppose true zeal to the blind zeal of the ministers, and resolved to spare no pains to make the Catholic schools a success; and in fact they contributed a great deal to counteract the pernicious effects of the Protestant schools, and the ministers, notwithstanding their exertions, were disappointed in the sanguine hopes they had conceived of numberless conversions among the Catholics, and of establishing Protestantism and rooting popery out of the Highlands. . . .

Bishop Gordon several times visited Angus, Perth-

shire, the Lothians and Tweeddale; but as his presence was more necessary in Nithsdale and Galloway, as those parts had been seldom visited before, since they lay at a distance, and were difficult of access, besides the dangers attending such visits, he resolved to make an attempt to see them this year. As things were pretty quiet there after the circuits were over, he entered the country in summer, notwithstanding the dangers that threatened in several places, and performed his visitation with great diligence and attention. He took great precautions to avoid all dangers, as for the most part he travelled and assembled the people in the night-time.

Having thus settled everything in the south as well as the circumstances would allow, he returned at the end of summer to meet Bishop Nicolson in the north, where new labours and solicitudes awaited him. The first thing he had to do was to equip and send off some youths to Rome by ship. This was no easy matter, on account of the terror parents were in of the circuit courts, where among other crimes they were challenged and impeached for sending their children to be educated abroad, and by reason of the difficulty of finding an opportunity to send them out of the country; for the captains of vessels were so terrified by the threats and clamours of the ministers, that they absolutely refused to give a passage to any youths they suspected were going to foreign colleges. . . .

Bishop Gordon having been detained in the Low Countries for the weighty reasons and affairs above-mentioned, had not been able to visit the Highlands, though business of moment required his presence there also. He therefore resolved to set out for

those parts, and to spend the winter there, and, among other things, to study the Erse for the benefit of the people. Accordingly he began his journey towards the end of the year, at a season very unsuitable for travelling among those mountains. . . .

1711

The long and severe persecution of the Roman Catholics in Scotland having ceased in the manner related last year, they began this year to enjoy some respite, and continued to live in tolerable peace and quietness for the next three years, till the death of Queen Anne in 1714. They did indeed meet with partial local ill-treatment from time to time from the malice of their enemies; but as the general persecution had subsided, they overcame these temporary trials by prudence and patience. However, the spite of the Presbyterian ministers, especially against priests, was not in the least abated, and at their instigation the magistrates of Edinburgh ordered, in the month of April, a general search for priests in that city; and they apprehended Father Mackie, a Benedictine, and in a very summary manner condemned him to banishment. But having been condemned contrary to all legal formalities, and relying on the orders sent to the Lords of Session from the Ministry the year before, he appealed from the sentence of the magistrates to the Court of Session.

The Bishops and missioners were apprehensive that this step was too bold, and showed too much confidence in their circumstances; and that if he should be cast by their lordships, it would render his case and theirs still worse; and they were in great anxiety about the issue

of it. But the court proved favourable to Father Mackie, and thus the malice of the ministers was defeated, and the sentence of the magistrates came to naught.

In the spring circuits the judges behaved with great mildness towards the Catholics. There were few cases cited before them, and these were honourably dismissed without any trial: and the three who had been banished the year before, and their effects confiscated, lived at home in the quiet possession of their property, without any molestation. But the ministers, with connivance of the sheriffs and justices of peace, lodged informations before the circuit court against many priests, and gave in a list of their names. Their lordships, however, disregarded these informations, and would not suffer any trial to be commenced against these priests; nay, they would not even allow their names to be proclaimed in court, which mortified the ministers exceedingly, and disappointed their malicious designs.

With regard to the spiritual affairs of the Mission this year; they were in a prosperous situation. The missioners lived in the greatest harmony and concord with one another, and all concurred to promote the common good with great zeal, and, at the same time, with great prudence. Whatever they had suffered, it was all merely on account of their religion; for no seditious meetings or indiscreet zeal was objected against them by their enemies. They embraced the occasion offered by the cessation of persecution and the coming of peaceable times, to instruct their people with greater assiduity and regularity, and to make converts. In this they were very successful, for by their zeal and labours under God, they gained a plentiful harvest, especially in Lochaber, Glengarry, Strathglass,

the Enzie, and Strathbogie, and some few in other stations also. It is true that few among the rich were converted; for they lived in such supreme indifference about religion, and were so much afraid of losing their worldly goods, that they had not *aures audiendi.* Many of those who, when they were sick and in danger of death, desired with great earnestness to be received into the Church, and gave all signs of a sincere conversion, when they recovered, were so intimidated by the threats of the ministers, and influenced by their solicitations, and by the danger of forfeiting their possessions, that they returned to their heresy, or at least to the external profession of it. There were three schools in the Highlands, which were in a thriving condition this year, and the Bishops had some thought of erecting more, as it was judged more advisable to set up a great number of schools in different parts of the country, than to have too many scholars in each school, partly for the convenience of the Catholics, and partly to avoid giving a handle to the Protestants by too great publicity. The Bishops had never ventured to erect any school in the Lowlands, but they deputed one of the missioners to instruct and superintend, in a private retired place, the education of such boys as were intended to be sent to foreign colleges. Each missioner in his station took note of those who seemed inclined and disposed for the Church, and informed the Bishops in the summer.

About the beginning of this year Mr Forbes died in Rome at a very advanced age. Of him I have frequently made mention before, and as he was a very great benefactor of the Mission, both justice and gratitude require that I here give the best account I am able of him and his benefactions, in order to preserve the memory of one to whom the Mission is under such

great obligations. This Mr Forbes was second son to Mr William Forbes, first Bishop of Edinburgh, by his wife, Elizabeth Forbes, daughter to Forbes of Corsinday. He was converted to the Catholic religion in his youth; but by whom, and in what manner, I have not been able to discover. Neither do I know at what time, nor on what occasion he came to Rome; but it is certain that he spent the greatest part of his life there in the family of Cardinal Barberini; and as he had good appointments, always lived single, and was a good economist, he laid by money. This money he always intended to consecrate to the support of religion in Scotland; and he gave a part of it for that purpose during life; and at his death he left the Mission his heir. He seems to have been born at Aberdeen; and his father seems to have been from the same place, for on his leaving Scotland, he abandoned to his relations all that he possessed there, and among other things, a house belonging to him in Aberdeen.

1712

The missioners and Catholics continued in peace and quietness this year also, which was partly owing to the orders given by Government in 1710, and partly to the jealousy between the Presbyterians and the Episcopals. The latter had obtained leave from Government to make use of the English liturgy and rites, which gave great offence and umbrage to the former. Their mutual jealousies withdrew attention from the Catholics.

1713

The Catholics in Scotland continued this year also to enjoy peace and tranquillity; the effect of which was

a number of conversions, especially in the Highlands, and in places where few or no Catholics were before.

1714

The whole kingdom was in great confusion this year, on account of the different factions and their hopes or fears in view of Queen Anne's death, which seemed to be imminent. She had frequently been in great danger, and her habit of body was such that it was foreseen she could not hold out long. The Presbyterians were exceedingly turbulent, and threatened both Catholics and others known, or suspected to be, attached to the party of King James.[1] Besides threats, they published many inflammatory libels, and among others, one entitled, *A Seasonable Warning against Popery and the Pretender.*

King James had a great party both in Scotland and England, and he had several messages sent him assuring him of success, if he would change his religion. However he was very attentive to what passed in Britain, and waited impatiently a call from his friends, or an opportunity of landing in some part of the island. The missioners and Catholics, who had enjoyed some respite for the last three years, lived in great apprehension of a renewal of the persecution on the Queen's death, and the consequent change of Government, especially if, as they had ground to dread, the Presbyterian party should get the upper hand. They found by experience that their apprehensions were only too well founded, for scarce was Queen Anne dead, in the month of August, when the Whig party in all parts of the kingdom began to insult and threaten the missioners and Catholics.

[1] The Chevalier James Stuart.

Soon after, they assembled in large bodies, and mobbed the houses of the principal Catholics, drove them from their habitations, and pursued them with such fury that they could nowhere find safety and peace. A strict search was made for priests, and they were obliged to skulk in private places, and change their abode frequently. The new Government was also very violent. Several of the principal Catholics and others were surprised, and thrown into prison. Lord Drummond and the Marquis of Huntly narrowly escaped. Some of the Highland chieftains were also taken, and sent to Edinburgh Castle. But, as both missioners and Catholics were accustomed to this treatment, they were not disconcerted, but resolved to persevere, to suffer patiently till the storm should blow over, as they had done on former occasions.

Bishop Gordon this year performed his annual visit to the Highlands. He set out early in the spring, and spent upwards of four months there, having travelled over the greatest part of the mainland, and visited the farthest islands. In this progress he confirmed about twelve hundred persons, almost one-half of whom were new converts since his last visit; and he received several others into the Church during his visit. Besides regulating all matters among the missioners he made due arrangements in his schools, both for educating Catholic children and supplying foreign colleges; and he also opened his little seminary. From the Highlands, he returned to Edinburgh, where he had scarce arrived when the news of Queen Anne's death occasioned general confusion. Yet, although the missioners and Catholics were exposed to the greatest dangers everywhere, he durst not venture to show himself, or go anywhere, and was obliged to remain at Edinburgh like

a prisoner. Bishop Nicolson was at a great distance in the north country at this time. From Edinburgh he with great difficulty found means to write to the Cardinal Protector[1] to acquaint him of the alteration in the circumstances of the Catholics; for all letters at that time were opened at London, in order to discover any correspondence between King James and his party.[2]

1715

The condition of the missioners and Catholics was very precarious; they lived in great apprehension, were often threatened with severe proceedings, and were exposed to all kinds of dangers. The new ministry were bitter enemies to Catholics, having a twofold animus against them, both on account of their religion and their loyalty to King James. Hence the Catholics behaved as quietly and cautiously as possible, not to give any handle to their enemies. This was owing principally to the prudence and good advice of the Bishops, to whose discretion was also due the harmony that reigned in the Mission between the clergy and regulars, particularly between the Jesuits and others.

I find no mention of any other public transactions

[1] Cardinal Sacripanti was, on the death of Cardinal Howard, appointed by Clement XI. Protector of Scotland.

[2] Bishop Nicolson reported in 1708 that Catholics were enjoying peace, and that many converts were being added to the Church. (Letter to Propaganda, 22nd September 1708.) By the year 1710, however, the ministers, regarding this increase with jealousy, were agitating for the enforcement of the penal laws; and the first rising five years later entailed fresh sufferings on the Scottish Catholics. Many priests were imprisoned or banished, and from a report of Bishop Gordon to Propaganda in 1716, the persecution seems to have been violent. The Catholics were in danger of total annihilation. In spite, however, of every difficulty, the missioners continued zealous in the performance of their duties, and conversions of Protestants were of daily occurrence. *Cf.* Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, iv. 165.

of the Mission during this year; and indeed the memoirs of the Mission are very defective for this year and the next. The reason is very clear. The missioners were obliged to live very retired. All letters to or from the Continent were inspected at London; hence neither the Bishops nor the missioners durst venture to write to their friends abroad, to inform them of their condition and sufferings, for fear of discovering themselves and their affairs to their enemies, and of occasioning trouble to themselves and to others.

Each one continued quiet in his station or in some other, equally anxious for his own safety and that of his brethren. Notwithstanding the strict search that was made for priests, I do not find mention of any other missioners being apprehended this year but Father Hudson, Superior of the Jesuits.

1716

About the end of last year, or the beginning of this, King James[1] landed in Scotland to encourage the party that had declared for him; but in a short time he was obliged to embark again, and his party was dispersed by a superior force. Many noblemen and gentlemen were made prisoners; among the rest, the Marquis of Huntly. Others withdrew to the Highlands and Isles, and some escaped to the Continent. Many lost their estates, and some of the Highland clans submitted to Government. By this attempt of King James and the miscarriage of it, the Catholics

[1] The Chevalier James Stuart. The news of Sheriffmuir on the 13th of November decided him to start for Scotland. In the middle of December 1715 he embarked at Dunkirk on board a small privateer, accompanied by a few attendants. On the 22nd of December, a safe landing was made at Peterhead.

became more obnoxious to the Government and to the Whig party; and if their situation was very distressing before, it became more so this year. The Bishops and missioners were the principal objects of persecution. However, the Bishops encouraged and confirmed them, both by word and example, and they all resolved to continue in their stations, and not to abandon the country and the cause of religion. They were now obliged, indeed, to lurk in retired places; but they still served the people as well as circumstances would allow. Two or three of the missioners were apprehended; but by the interest of friends, they were soon after set at liberty. Bishop Nicolson was once in greater danger of being taken, but he luckily escaped from his pursuers. Few or none apostatised, and several converts were made. Before the end of the year, things became quieter than was expected, King James's party being entirely suppressed. The ports were opened, and no more passports required from persons coming to Britain.

Notwithstanding the persecution of the missioners and Catholics, Bishop Gordon found means to make, in the summer of this year, his annual visit to the Highlands, which he performed successfully. Besides some schools, by prudence and caution he still maintained his little seminary in the west for the preparing apprentices for foreign shops; and at last sent this year some youths from it, both from the Lowlands and Highlands to Rome. Bishop Gordon was obliged to travel much, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to struggle with. As soon as he returned from the Highlands, he began his progress to the south in the month of October, having a great deal of business to settle with many persons on the road.

GEORGE GORDON,
Fourth Marquis of Huntly and First Duke of Gordon. (1643-1716).

From the Engraving by I. Samié.

This year, the Duke of Perth died at St Germains. He was a most zealous Catholic, a great patron and benefactor of the Mission, and of the college at Paris. The Duke of Gordon also died this year in Scotland, on the 18th of December.

1717

The condition of the missioners and Catholics still continued the same this year as last. The missioners were obliged to use great caution and privacy in the performance of their functions, and to lurk among their friends to avoid capture by their enemies. They were daily exposed to great distress for want of necessaries; many of the principal Catholics, who formerly protected and supported them, being either obliged to lie hid or to leave the country, while others were banished by Government. Their suffering and want having been represented to patrons at Rome by Mr Stuart the Proctor,[1] an extraordinary subsidy of 500 crowns was ordered for them and remitted; which proved a most seasonable relief in their present circumstances. The Pope also, besides recommending the Catholics in Britain to the Catholic courts by means of his Nuncios, wrote two letters. One was to the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, who was in alliance with the court of England, urging him in the strongest terms to procure a mitigation of the persecution. The other was to Prince Eugene, who had the greatest influence at the court of Vienna, begging him to interpose his good offices on behalf of the Roman Catholics,

[1] Procurator.

from which those in England reaped some advantage, but those in Scotland very little. . . .

Bishop Gordon made his usual visit to the Highlands this summer, notwithstanding the troublesome times. He made the lengthiest visitation he had ever made, and surveyed the remotest corners everywhere. With some danger and great difficulties, he assisted some that had not seen a priest for several years. He found all these districts in the most miserable condition imaginable, and in extreme want of some comfort and support, and he everywhere endeavoured to do something for their comfort and advantage. He was at more trouble and charges than in any former visit, for though he took with him all the money he could scrape together, yet he was obliged to borrow several times, and returned with hardly a farthing in his pocket. The money he spent he devoted mostly to relieving the necessities of the missioners and poor Catholics. There were about five hundred persons confirmed in his progress; but as so many having been confirmed in former visits, few now were in need of that benefit. Bishop Gordon was scarce returned from his visit to the Highlands, when he was obliged to begin a progress to the south at a very inconvenient season of the year, to visit all the missioners and Catholics scattered far and wide, and to despatch business; and if he had not been a man of a robust constitution, he could not have held out after such exertions of mind and body. After having spent several months in great labour and fatigue, he could not find a moment's time to retire into some quiet place to repose and recruit his strength; so great were the necessities of the Mission, and his presence everywhere so necessary to comfort and encourage the missioners and Catholics, to extricate them from

difficulty, and to accommodate differences, for which he had a particular talent.

This year the young Duke of Gordon, having got his liberty, came over to the Continent, partly with a desire to improve himself by travelling, partly to avoid the troubles at home, he being a person obnoxious to Government. He made a considerable stay at Florence, where he contracted a great intimacy and lasting friendship with the Grand Duke Cosmo, who was mightily taken with him, on account of his parts and accomplishments.

1718

There are few or no memoirs on the condition of the missioners and Catholics, and of the state of the Mission this year. We may infer, however, from what happened the preceding three years, and for several years afterwards, that they were in a state of persecution, and that the missioners were still exposed to great fatigues and sufferings. The only event of consequence which we know of was the death of Bishop Nicolson, which happened in the autumn.[1] By this event, the Mission sustained a great loss. He was a man excellently qualified for his station, for in him fervent zeal, piety, and learning were united with great prudence and discretion. He governed the Mission for the space of four and twenty years with great success in the most troublesome times, and in an almost uninterrupted state of persecution.

[1] October the 23rd, 1718. Bishop Nicolson had been captured at the beginning of March 1716, but had providentially escaped. The preachers, however, were straining every nerve to hunt down every Catholic. Bishop Nicolson did not survive this fresh outburst of persecution; he closed his apostolic life at Preshome, where his declining years had been spent.

1720

There are scarcely any records of the affairs of the Mission for this year. The missioners still continued exposed to great sufferings and distress and want on account of the persecution. Wherefore Dr Gordon applied to the Congregation for an extraordinary subsidy, and desired Mr Stuart to employ even King James's interest to obtain it; but I have not been able to learn whether he succeeded or not. . . .

1721

The persecution of the missioners and Catholics still continued on the part of the Government, and they were exposed to their usual sufferings and distress.

Several persons of quality among the Catholics, who were a support to the others, were greatly harassed in this persecution, and especially the Duchess of Perth. She lately had lost her husband by a premature death; upon which event, the Government under some pretext seized on the estate, and kept possession of it for some time, till the British Parliament acknowledged the rights of her son. But she had still more violent persecution to sustain from Protestants the pretended friends of the family, who made nothing of the ruin of the estate in order to procure the spiritual ruin of the children. They attempted to take them from her to breed them up Protestants, and when they could not succeed, they applied to the King for an order to put them into their hands; but fortunately, he answered that he would not meddle in the matter. They next applied to get the management of the estate, and took other measures to

compass their designs. Under these trials, the virtuous lady behaved with a fortitude superior to her sex. Seeing evident danger of being deprived forcibly of her children, and of their being bred up as heretics, she formed a bold resolution, which she executed manfully, to carry them abroad to France, notwithstanding the opposition of her adversaries, and though it was both against her inclinations and her interest to carry them abroad so young. Her courage and zeal on this occasion gained her the esteem and admiration of everybody. The pretended friends of the family were exasperated by this bold step, and continued to harass her the more in order to oblige her to recall her children. Among other things, they attempted to deprive her of her jointure; but her courage and constancy at length got the victory over them.

1722

This year the persecution against the missioners and principal Catholics raged with greater violence than before. They were perpetually harassed with searches and other insults, so as to be safe nowhere; and the missioners were obliged to lurk in private, and perform their functions with the greatest secrecy. On this occasion, Bishop Wallace and the Dowager Duchess of Gordon were the greatest sufferers. On a Sunday in the month of May a severe search was made in her Grace's lodgings in Edinburgh by warrant of the magistrates, to ingratiate themselves with the ministers, who were holding their general assembly. This search was made by the constables, attended by a party of the town guard, who behaved rather like a rabble, than as persons acting under the authority of

magistrates. For before they would show their warrant, they broke open the outer door, and rushed with fixed bayonets into the Duchess's bedchamber, before she had got out of bed. They obliged her to put on some clothes, and to go through her rooms with them, half-dressed, for an hour and a half. In this search, they apprehended Bishop Wallace, who had come timeously to hear confessions before Mass; and with him eleven Catholics that were already assembled. Some of the Catholics escaped, and others were sent to prison; but as they suspected Bishop Wallace, by his gravity and mien, to be a priest, though they had no proof, he was sent alone to prison with a strong guard. In a short time, however, by the interest of the Duchess and her son the Duke, he was got out on giving bail for his appearance.

When the time of his appearance came, it was debated among the missioners and Catholics whether he should appear or not; but he himself, and the generality of them, were of opinion that he ought not to appear. They knew quite well the consequences of appearing in court, which would have been banishment, upon bail of 5000 marks not to return, and perpetual imprisonment if he returned; whereas he was only declared fugitate[1] for non-appearance, and continued at the head of his flock, though obliged to lie quiet for some time to avoid annoyance.

The young Duchess of Perth was also exposed to great troubles this year, both from Government and the Protestant friends of the family, on account of her two sons, whom she had carried abroad the year before. They thought to oblige her, by bad usage and distress, to recall them; but she continued firm,

[1] A Scottish law term for "outlaw."

and defeated all their attempts. We may easily judge what the meaner sort of Catholics were exposed to, when the first quality of the kingdom were treated with so little regard, either to their person or sex. The Bishops represented all these hardships in the strongest terms, to Padrons [Rome], and particularly insisted that strong remonstrances should be made to the Catholic courts in alliance with England, by the Pope's Nuncios, in favour of the Catholics in Scotland. This was easily obtained, but produced little effect; for these courts endeavoured to persuade people at Rome that Catholics lived at ease under the British Government: because, in England, and especially at London, where their ambassadors resided, Catholics were not persecuted. Besides, the Bishops and missioners knew by experience that all intercession by means of the Nuncios and foreign ambassadors proved ineffectual to obtain a remedy or redress of grievances, unless there was a person from Scotland at London to solicit for them. Wherefore it was resolved to send some person for that purpose; and an excellent occasion soon offered. The Dowager Duchess of Gordon was so provoked at the insult that had been offered her in her own house, that she was thinking to leave Scotland, and go and live in England. This gave great concern to the Catholics, and would have been a great loss to them in the south, and at Edinburgh; for she was their principal support, she being the only person of quality who kept constantly a chapel where they resorted, and besides a priest, one of the Bishops had a constant refuge there. After some time, she dropped her design of going to live in England, but resolved to go in person to London, and to take Mr Carnegie, the ablest agent the Mission had, along

with her, in order to procure some redress for herself and the Catholics. But as Mr Carnegie was obliged to be at great expenses, both to support himself, and to conciliate the servants and dependents of great men, in order to get access to them, and the poor Mission was not in a condition to supply him, application was made to Rome for this purpose, but nothing was obtained. . . .

There was an unlucky circumstance at that time, which had like to have rendered ineffectual these recommendations, Mr Carnegie's solicitations, and the Duchess of Gordon's journey. This was a real or pretended plot against Government, which the court was intent on inquiring into, and for which, among others, the Duke of Norfolk, nephew to the Duchess of Gordon, was sent to the Tower of London. However, they did not lose courage. The Duchess of Gordon presented herself to the King himself, and spoke boldly to him of the insults she herself had received, and of the grievances of the Catholics in Scotland, and demanded redress. The King was very polite, and promised her all manner of liberty with regard to religion; but his ministers soon convinced him that he had promised more than he was able to perform; and that he could not dispense with any of the laws relative to Catholics without the authority of Parliament. Mr Carnegie in the meantime treated with the ministers and foreign ambassadors. They desired him to let them know in what the Catholics had been oppressed contrary to law, told him that they could not complain while they suffered according to law, and promised him that where severities had been exercised beyond the purport of the statutes, they would give him redress. But he observed to them, that the laws

themselves were so sanguinary that, if they were strictly executed, the Catholics would be the most unhappy people on earth, and that they could never live easy, or enjoy certain security as long as these hung over their heads.

Though Mr Carnegie was not so successful as he wished, yet his negotiation did some good, since it put a stop for the present to persecution on the part of Government; which was a great deal, and gave the Catholics some respite. But persecution was not the only hardship the missioners had to struggle with; they were menaced with dangers of a different nature.

1723

The missioners and Catholics in Scotland had flattered themselves with the hopes of enjoying some respite this year in consequence of the negotiations of Mr Carnegie and the Duchess of Gordon, who continued in London till the summer; but they were disappointed. The court still discovered a violent hatred and animosity against them, and the new Parliament, which was called this year, proved more inimical to them than the former. This Parliament and the ministry contrived every method to distress them. Last year it had been proposed to bring in a bill to lay a tax of £100,000 on the Catholics in general; but the design was defeated by the interest of the foreign ambassadors. This year the bill was actually brought in, and passed both Houses of Parliament. The tax was rigorously exacted from the English Catholics, by which many families were ruined, and many left the kingdom. There was a clause in the bill, extending it to Scotland; and if this had taken place, the poor

Catholics there would have been effectually ruined; but Providence averted this stroke by means of their inveterate enemies; for the Scots members all to a man opposed the clause with such firmness that it was rejected; on which occasion it was observed that the English did not show the same concern for their countrymen. But there was passed in this session against Roman Catholics, an Act still worse than the former, by which a new oath of allegiance was prescribed to be taken by all, without exception, under the severest penalties of confiscation, banishment, and imprisonment. The pretext of this oath was to secure their civil allegiance; but it was maliciously drawn up, and contained a strange mixture of religion and politics, so that no Catholic could take it without renouncing his religion. Thus they were driven to this dilemma; either to abjure their faith, or to be looked upon as disaffected persons. Such were the hardships the poor Catholics had to struggle with this year.

Bishop Gordon informed Propaganda of these distresses, and observed to them that it was surprising to see how little Catholic Princes were touched with the dangers to the Catholic religion and the sufferings of Catholics in Britain; whilst heretical Princes were so attentive to the interest of their parties in Catholic countries. He said it was very hard that, if two or three petty Protestant Princes in Germany applied to the Emperor in favour of Protestants, they immediately obtained a redress of grievances, whereas Catholic sovereigns could not obtain as much in favour of the Roman Catholics in Britain. Therefore he begged of them to engage his Holiness to recommend in strong terms the case

of the Catholics to the Catholic Princes, which he did; and their interposition, in time, produced some good effects. Bishop Wallace and his cautioners were under great apprehension this year. The courts threatened to pursue them and oblige them to pay the bail. They employed the interest of friends, both in Scotland and at London; but all they obtained was a kind of promise that the money would not be asked; but could not get the bail discharged. This much of the treatment of the Catholics by Government.

But the missioners and Catholics in Scotland had another and no less troublesome persecution to suffer from the Presbyterian ministers, who seem to have redoubled their spite against them this year, and contrived every method to oppress them. Their principal efforts were directed against the seminary and the schools, which they endeavoured to shut up and disperse entirely; and in order to compass this the more easily, they kept some ruffians in pay to search for and apprehend the missioners who had care of them. However, by prudence and caution they escaped their snares; and by the assistance of some Protestant friends, who were interested in the schools, both these and the seminary were preserved, in spite of the attempts of the ministers. The lay Catholics had their share in the persecution of the ministers. In order to distress the Catholics the more, they erected in several places new Presbyteries, whose chief business it was to persecute the Catholics. No place was exempt from this persecution, not even the remotest parts of the country, and the farthest islands. The ministers urged on the justices of peace and the lairds and proprietors of lands against the

poor Catholics; and they found some of them subservient to their views. Both missioners and Catholics behaved with great courage and constancy under these trials. The missioners redoubled their diligence, and instead of yielding to threats and terrors of persecution, with great zeal and labour performed their functions, and confirmed their flocks both by word and example; and what is more, six or seven hundred persons were converted this year. Among the Catholics there were scarcely any that apostatised, except a few new converts in a very remote island, whom the laird by fraud and violence perverted. The Bishops by letters, and Mr Stuart by word of mouth, represented the hardships and necessities of the missioners in such strong colours to the Congregation, that an extraordinary subsidy of 300 crowns was obtained this year, which, though small, considering their needs, yet proved a great relief to them.

As the Catholics had never more need of comfort and support than under their present trials, the Bishops were employed all the summer in visiting the different parts of the Mission. Bishop Wallace first went to Galloway, as he was less known there; afterwards he travelled over the greater part of the Lowlands, where he confirmed some, composed differences, and supplied where a missioner was wanted. Bishop Gordon went to the Highlands, and spent three months in visiting that country. He proceeded to the remotest islands, and to many places which had never seen a Bishop before, and especially to those places where the people were more exposed to persecution; and everywhere confirmed the strong and encouraged the weak. In the course of this visit, he gave confirmation to 2090 persons, many of

whom, especially the adults, were new converts; and in all the districts where he travelled, both on the mainland and in the islands, he gained some converts. Moreover, he composed some family feuds among the lairds, removed some scandals, and opened a new school. He spent great sums of money in relieving the necessities of missioners and indigent Catholics, and underwent incredible fatigues and dangers in travelling over rocks and mountains, and in passing from island to island. He used to labour, fasting from morning till five or six in the afternoon, when his only cheer was a little coarse bread and some milk, and his bed a little heath or straw. He returned quite spent to the Enzie, where he stayed some time to recruit his strength. . . .

1724

The missioners and Catholics were this year under great apprehension of persecution, in consequence of the Act passed the previous session, enjoining a new oath of abjuration, and were expecting every moment to see the execution of it enforced. The Bishops and missioners were moreover in great distress and want, not having wherewith to support themselves; and were besides burdened with debts. . . .

Providence favoured them with unexpected help at this time, for the Congregation, being informed of the constancy, labours, and sufferings of the Bishops and missioners during this persecution, of their own accord, without being solicited, sent them this year an extraordinary subsidy of three hundred crowns, which proved a most seasonable relief. They next had under consideration the measures to be taken, either to delay the

execution of the late Act of Parliament, or to obtain a mitigation of it. Friends at home and abroad were applied to for this purpose, and with good success; for the foreign ambassadors and other well-wishers of the Catholics so importuned the court that the Act was, in fact, mitigated.

All women and even men of small fortune were exempted from taking the new oaths; and what was of still greater consequence, by this new amendment, those who refused to conform were only fined in one year's rent, whereas by the former laws they were liable to confiscation of their whole fortune. The Catholics exulted as if they had obtained a great victory, though several troublesome clauses still remained; but by the above mitigation, the Act was deprived of its terrors, and the Catholics were relieved from the alarms they were under, and the rest of the year they enjoyed greater peace and respite from persecution on the part of Government than they had done for many years before. But they still had a domestic persecution to suffer from the implacable hatred of the Presbyterian ministers, whose hearts could not be softened. For, as they always found some magistrates and judges favourable to them, and ready to join them in their violent attempts, they perpetually urged them to put into execution the penal laws against Catholics and missioners, and in a particular manner egged them on against the seminary and the schools; nay, they obtained this year an injunction from the court to all sheriffs to make strict search for priests, and cast them into prison. The fact was that the court was obliged to flatter the Presbyterians, and dared not deny them anything they asked. But the missioners were not much alarmed by this order, which was given merely to please the

ministers, but not designed to be put in execution. The ministers, seeing themselves disappointed in all their views, instead of relenting, began to invent new schemes to distress the Catholics, as we shall see next year.[1]

1725

During the first months of this year, the missioners and Catholics enjoyed some quiet; but soon after, they were alarmed with the apprehension of new dangers in consequence of a resolution of Parliament to disarm the Highlanders. Great bodies of troops were sent by sea and land to the country, and the people were under great terror of a military execution; but as they submitted quietly, none of them suffered any harm, and the most part of the troops were sent to the Lowlands to quell the tumults which had occurred at Glasgow, Dundee, and elsewhere, on account of the malt tax, which had lately been extended to Scotland.

The missioners, though they knew that the parties left in the Highlands had got orders to search for and apprehend priests, did not think of abandoning their stations, but performed their functions cautiously, and kept out of the way. But what gave the Bishops and missioners more concern was the persecution they suffered from the Protestant ministers, who never allowed them to enjoy any peace or respite; for this year they fell on a new contrivance to distress them. This was by means of their "Society for Propagating

[1] Wodrow wrote from the General Assembly in 1721, "The great matter we have before us, is the terrible growth of popery in the north." Wodrow states that the King (George I.) granted in 1725 the sum of one thousand pounds to promote Protestantism in the Highlands. Wodrow, *Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 586; vol. iii. p. 193.

Christian Knowledge," instituted under the specious pretext of converting infidels; but whose real design was to pervert Catholics, especially in the Highlands.

In a short time they collected great funds for this purpose, for those who were most distinguished by their false zeal contributed liberally to promote what they deemed so pious a work. Their stock at this time amounted to eighteen thousand pounds (£18,000) sterling, and Government also this year assigned them an annual pension of one thousand pounds (£1000) sterling, with promises of protection and future encouragement. Hence the ministers were enabled to send troops of school-masters and catechists to all those parts of the country where the Catholics were most numerous. They and their agents left no means untried to pervert the faithful; for partly by terrors and threats, partly by caresses and promises, either true or false, of temporal advantages, they endeavoured to induce parents to send their children to their schools and sermons; and when they got them into their hands, they by little and little corrupted their tender minds with all manner of calumnies and pestiferous pamphlets against the Catholic Faith.

They likewise used all means to draw both men and women to their meetings; and, if they refused to comply, either harassed them with oppressive lawsuits, or got them fined under various pretexts, and oppressed them in different respects by preventing them from getting justice done them in their ordinary affairs, and by usurping and exercising over them an authority contrary to law. These violent and insidious methods of distressing the Catholics were practised over the whole kingdom; and no place, however remote, either in the Highlands or the Islands, was exempt from this perse-

cution. In all these attempts they were favoured and encouraged by Government, which readily granted them everything they asked; hence the Catholics could expect no redress by applying to the court.

The Bishops and missioners were much alarmed with this new danger, both to Catholics and to religion. They knew the measures proper and necessary to counteract the machinations of the ministers; but they had not the means to put them in execution. The missioners were full of zeal, but their number was by no means sufficient to serve the Catholics, and to supply all places and purposes; and the few that were in the country were oppressed with fatigue and want. Priests could at that time have been got from Ireland to serve in the Highlands; but the Mission and the Catholics in general were so poor that they had not wherewith to maintain them. Hence the Bishops had no other means left to oppose the storm but to trust in God, to exhort the missioners to redouble their diligence, zeal, and labours, and to be more vigilant to assist those places, especially in the Highlands, where Catholics and their children were more in danger of being perverted by the attempts of the ministers. The missioners, though many of them had to struggle with age, sickness, and want, resolved to die in the field rather than abandon their posts. They co-operated so well with the views of the Bishops, that one of them in the course of this year gained near two hundred converts, another about one hundred, all in the Highlands, besides many more in different parts of the country; whereas the ministers, with their school-masters and catechists, could scarce pervert one Catholic in all that time. Hence the new scheme of the ministers, though it alarmed the Bishops and missioners, and exercised their zeal and diligence

for some time, yet did not in the end answer the expectations of those who contrived it, or prove so formidable to the Catholics as it had at first appeared. In the meantime, the Bishop's schools and little seminary were still kept open, although daily exposed to the attempts of the ministers to disperse them; and this year, Bishop Gordon promoted to holy orders two who had been educated in his seminary. One of them being from the Highlands, was sent immediately to his own country, where a supply of hands was much wanted. Two Irish priests also came to the Mission this year from France, the one a Dominican and the other a Recollect; which proved a very seasonable relief in the present circumstances.

Bishop Wallace spent the whole summer of this year in visiting Galloway and Nithsdale, and the southern parts of the Mission, where he confirmed some young persons, and received into the Church several pious and devout gentlewomen.

Bishop Gordon, who always took the most laborious part to himself, set out from Edinburgh in the month of May for Glenlivet and the neighbouring districts, from whence, after a short stay, he departed for the far Highlands. There he confirmed above five hundred persons, one-half of whom were new converts. Having called a meeting of the oldest missioners in Arisaig, several things relating to religion and to differences and scandals among the people were taken into consideration, and regulated. On account of the numerous parties of soldiers, it was dangerous for him to remain long in the country, and he was therefore obliged to leave it sooner than he wished or expected; and as he could not venture to go to the islands, he sent one of the missioners thither in his place, with orders to

inquire into the state of the missioners and people, and to make his report. He himself came down to Glenlivet, and employed the rest of the summer and autumn in visiting the missioners and Catholics in the Lowlands. Besides his continual labours and solicitude for all parts of the Mission, Bishop Gordon had another affair of the greatest consequence, which employed his most serious thoughts this year, and which the circumstances, and the situation of the country, determined him to endeavour to put in execution. He reflected that he was now advanced in years, being turned of sixty, and that Bishop Wallace, broken with age and infirmities, could not relieve him of the laborious part of his charge. He saw that the Highlands were at a great distance from the rest of the Mission, that the Catholics were most numerous there, and that the main attempts of the ministers were directed against them. Finally realising that he himself, weakened by age and fatigues, would be no longer able to undertake those long and laborious journeys to the Highlands and Islands, he saw the absolute necessity of placing a Bishop in that country for the support of religion, and to carry on his establishments and pious designs. . . .

1726

In consequence of the accounts sent to Rome last year by the Bishops of the persecution of the Catholics, of the attempts of the ministers against the Highlands, and of the distress of the missioners, Mr Stuart resolved to use all means to obtain an extraordinary subsidy from Propaganda. For this purpose he represented the case of the Mission and of the missioners to their eminences in a long memorial, which he got recom-

mended by King James. The cause was so moving and the recommendation so powerful, that an extraordinary subsidy of five hundred crowns was immediately ordered to be transmitted to the Bishops. The Congregation at the same time wrote them a letter commending their zeal and firmness, and that of the missioners. This seasonable aid proved a great relief to them in their present necessities, and enabled the Bishops to send an immediate supply of hands to the Highlands to counteract the designs of the Presbyterian ministers. The ministers (finding on the one hand that by the preaching and labours of the missioners many persons were touched, and numerous conversions were made every day even in the midst of persecution; and on the other, that all their contrivances to pervert the Catholics had miscarried), were enraged beyond measure, and resolved to change their ground once more; for this year they raised one of the most violent persecutions that had been seen or remembered in the Highlands. When the missioners were least expecting it, they hired several bodies of light troops,[1] and sent them to surprise and apprehend those among them who were most remarkable for their zeal and numerous converts; and this they did at the same time, lest anyone should take warning from his neighbour's danger, and thus escape out of their hands. Notwithstanding that the missioners were taken unawares, yet the ministers were not so successful as they expected. They apprehended only one, viz., Mr Shaw, betrayed by a false friend, who had been bribed by the ministers, and he was sent immediately to the prison of Inverness, where he was confined for a long time. The other missioners

[1] *Cf.* Bellesheim, vol. iv. p. 186.

escaped the pursuit of the soldiers with the greatest difficulty.

This persecution was principally confined to the Highlands, where the most numerous conversions were made, and the malicious design of it was evident. As their numerous preachers, school-masters and catechists had met with no success in perverting the Catholics, they resolved, with the assistance of Government, either to apprehend or drive out of the country all the missioners; to the end that the people, being deprived of their pastors and other spiritual helps, might be more easily perverted by their artful calumnies and sophistries.

But they were disappointed in their expectations this time also; for none of the missioners, although exposed to daily peril, thought of abandoning their stations; nay, they redoubled their vigilance and diligence in arming the people against the snares of the ministers. As to themselves, they eluded the wiles of the soldiers with precaution and prudence; and besides, the Bishops sent a supply of hands to those parts of the country that were most infested with catechists, to prevent any bad effects from them among the Catholics. This persecution began about Pentecost, and continued the greater part of the year.

As for the Low country, the Presbyterians assembled in great numbers at the instigation of their ministers, and had the boldness to go and deface St Ninian's chapel in the very neighbourhood of the Duke of Gordon's residence, who happened to be then at Gordon Castle. I have not been able to learn the particulars of the damage done, but it must have been very considerable, for partly on that account,

and partly on account of the insult offered to him so near his own door, the Duke was highly incensed, and immediately set out for London to apply for redress. He gained his cause, and got good satisfaction of the Presbyterians.

The Bishops and missioners were very apprehensive for the little seminary at Scalan, and it was threatened several times. Several attempts against it were defeated by the interest and protection of the Duke of Gordon and some Protestant gentlemen who favoured it. However, before the end of the year, the ministers were so bent on the ruin of it, and repeated their violent attacks so often, that they succeeded in dispersing it, and it continued shut for several months. The countries of Glenlivet and Strathaven were so infested with parties of soldiers at the same time, that the people were deprived of divine service for several weeks; and one of the missioners there was apprehended. This year Mr Carnegie went to Rome on a secret expedition. He was not sent on any business relating to the Mission; although the Bishops availed themselves of the opportunity to give him some commissions.

The truth of the matter was that Mr Carnegie was sent for by King James himself to give him certain informations concerning his interest, and to receive some commissions from him to his friends in Scotland, which could not be trusted to paper. He made but a short stay at Rome, and while there, lived in a very private way, and saw nobody but King James, Lord Inverness, and Mr Stuart, the Procurator. After finishing his business, he departed to return to Scotland. When he arrived at Paris, he was advised by some friends to go to Fontainebleau,

where the court then was, and to present a memorial to Cardinal Fleury, the Prime Minister, concerning the persecution of the Catholics in Scotland, and to implore his interposition with the court of England in their favour, especially as the two courts were on excellent terms at that time. Mr Carnegie followed their advice with great pleasure, and accordingly set out for Fontainebleau with good recommendations, and a well-penned memorial, in which he represented the violent persecution and imprisonment of the missioners in the Highlands, and begged of him to procure a cessation of the persecution and the discharge of the prisoners. Cardinal Fleury gave him a most gracious reception, read his memorial, spoke to the English Ambassador on the spot, and promised him a letter of recommendation to the French Ambassador at London, with orders to solicit the ministry in behalf of the Catholics. This business detained Mr Carnegie some time longer at Paris. After getting his letter of recommendation, he set out for London, and delivered it to the French Ambassador, who promised to use his best endeavours to obtain a mitigation of the persecution and the release of the prisoner. He was hopeful to succeed, but told him that it required some time, as the court at that time was much occupied with public business, and that he must wait the proper season to act. Mr Carnegie being obliged to return to Scotland as soon as he could, employed some persons, who had access and credit with the Ambassador, to urge the matter, and left it in their hands; and the Catholics, with time, felt some good effects from this interposition.

The persecution continued very violent in the Highlands, notwithstanding the applications made to

the court of London on behalf of the Catholics, and the zealous exertions of the Duke of Gordon at home. His Grace, however, was determined to procure Mr Shaw's discharge from prison, and he spared neither pains nor expense till he succeeded; but this was obtained on condition of his going into exile. The Bishops thought it necessary that he should go into voluntary exile for a year or two, till the spite of the ministers against him should abate; for he was so persecuted by them even after his enlargement, that he could not appear in public. I have not been able to learn, however, whether he left the country or not. By the protection of the Duke, Bishop Gordon again opened his little seminary, in spite of the opposition of the ministers. What gave Bishop Gordon great comfort in the midst of these trials and persecutions, was the great zeal and firmness of the missioners, their diligence in the exercise of their duties, and the uninterrupted harmony that subsisted among them. . . .

Mr Carnegie had published a catechism some years before, and this year he made a new edition of it at his own expenses, but by the information of some enemies the books were all seized, with the printer. They were brought to the Cross and burnt, and Mr Carnegie had great difficulty to save the printer from banishment, and he says that his loss upon this occasion amounted to £70 sterling.

1728

In the winter between 1727 and 1728 a new persecution broke out in the Highlands.

Bishop Gordon was sensible how necessary his

presence was in the Highlands to encourage the Catholics, being apprehensive lest they should despond under such unremitting trials, and their faith wax cold. And, as he had not been able to visit the Highlands last year, he was extremely anxious to proceed to that country as soon as possible for various reasons, and particularly on account of this persecution. Wherefore he left Edinburgh early in the spring, and after visiting a part of the north country, with Glenlivet and Strathaven, hastened to the far Highlands; but before he began his journey, he wrote from Gordon Castle to the Cardinal Protector. Informing him of the situation of the Mission and the sufferings of the Catholics, he begged him to suggest to the Pope to recommend their case, by means of his Nuncio, to the Emperor and to the other Catholic princes, in order to obtain for them some relief at the ensuing congress, which was to be held at Cambray or Soissons by the deputies of most of the Powers of Europe.

When Bishop Gordon set out on his progress for the Highlands and Islands, his health was so indifferent that he had but little hope of being able to complete his tour. However, he resolved to proceed as far as his strength would allow him; and by the blessing of God, the visit succeeded beyond expectation, and was happily terminated. He omitted no place either on the mainland or the islands, where there was any number of Catholics; and he visited some places for the first time in which the faithful had lately increased. In the course of his visit, he confirmed about one thousand two hundred persons, many of whom were converts and grown up. He everywhere encouraged both missioners and people, and endeavoured to inspire them with new fervour by his presence and pathetic exhortations. He

had the pleasure to find that the missioners were steady in their duty, and were not deterred, either by threats or the dangers to which they were exposed, from exercising their functions, and serving the people with great zeal and diligence. What added to his satisfaction was that everywhere some converts were made, many of whom by their zeal, piety, and constancy gave great edification to the old Catholics, and good example to Protestants.

After having settled some rather intricate ecclesiastical affairs, he called a meeting of the senior missioners, to deliberate about business. But the principal thing that engaged their attention was the affair of procuring a Bishop for the Highlands. All agreed that Mr John Grant was the fittest and most acceptable to all the missioners (provided he were still alive, and could be induced to undertake that burden); and therefore they wished that Propaganda should be entreated to urge him to accept. Failing him, they had in view another, who would have been acceptable to all the rest. Who the person was is not mentioned, but he signified clearly his reluctance to accept if he should be chosen, and there was not one among the senior missioners who would agree to charge himself with that burden. Thus the affair was left in suspense, and remained so all this year.

Bishop Gordon never suffered so much as in this visit, having met with constant rains and stormy winds; and he was exposed to great danger and fatigue in crossing raging seas in an open boat, and scaling high and steep mountains on foot. He seldom met with anything but water to quench his thirst, and milk to satisfy his hunger; and when overtaken by a storm, he frequently found no other shelter but some poor hut,

which could not protect him from the inclemency of the weather and the buffeting of the wind. But his mind was so bent on performing his journey that he seldom adverted to the dangers and inconveniences to which he was exposed, and he was ready to meet death in his laborious visitation. But, contrary to all expectation, he gained such strength and vigour that after the fatigues of his visit, he returned to the Low countries in better health than when he departed.

Bishop Wallace resided principally at Edinburgh, and had the charge of the Catholics in the south, whom he served with great zeal and charity. Notwithstanding his great age and weakness, he exerted himself beyond his strength, and spared no labour or pains to instruct the ignorant, and to comfort and encourage the weak, and in general to feed his flock with his preaching and example, and with the holy Sacraments. He made frequent excursions to the neighbouring districts, when his health and strength permitted him. This year he visited the shires of Perth and Angus, animated the faithful there, and gave Confirmation where it was wanted. Though a violent persecution against the missioners and Catholics had raged for several years past, and the missioners had been exposed to great distress, fatigue, and want, yet a more grievous misfortune than all these befell the Mission this year, which now remains to be related. This was the death of the Duke of Gordon,[1] who was cut off in the flower of his youth by a short illness of five days in the month

[1] "The Duke was carried off after an illness of five days in what was in all appearance the prime of life and vigour. . . . The Church in Scotland, and especially in the north, where Catholics are most numerous, will now be exposed to continual vexation, such as hitherto the Duke's support and authority was able to avert, or at least greatly mitigate. He has left four young sons, whom he was carefully educating in the Catholic Faith, but

of November. I know no other circumstances of that event; but I have heard a popular tradition that he caught his distemper by riding post to or from London to prevent some persecution or calamity impending on the Catholics. Be that as it may, the loss of him was the greatest stroke the Mission had felt since its institution.

Nor were they so much concerned for their present misfortune and the loss of one man, as they were alarmed for the future; for they foresaw that the children would be educated Protestants, and that a most noble family, which had continued firm in the Catholic religion ever since the Reformation, and had been a nursing mother to the faithful, would now be separated from the Church. When this event happened, Bishop Gordon was on his return to Edinburgh from the north. The Duchess, though a bigoted Protestant, had a great esteem for him, and sent a messenger after him to recall him. But this only served to make him witness to scenes that pierced his heart. Of four sons that the Duke left, the eldest was not above ten years of age, and they were immediately taken out of the hands of Mr Robert Gordon, the chaplain of the family, and delivered over to Protestant preceptors; he himself was dismissed and the chapels in Fochabers and the castle shut up. There had been a paction made between the Duke and the Duchess, that the sons were to be educated in the father's religion, and the daughters in the mother's; but this was not attended to, and

directly after his death they were carried off to the heterodox worship, and thus a noble family, which ever since the subversion of religion in Scotland has remained firm and constant in the faith, and protected multitudes of others under their wings, will be entirely torn away from the Church, unless God aids us by a singular Providence."—Letter of Bishop James Gordon to Rome, Edinburgh, 25th March 1729 (Blairs College MSS.).

Bishop Gordon durst not venture to insist upon it.[1] The Duchess, however, was very friendly to him, and promised to favour the Catholics on her son's estate.

Some weeks after, Bishop Gordon was apprehended by one Grant, a captain of an independent company, under pretence that he intended to carry off the two eldest sons, and convey them abroad to be educated as Catholics; which he never so much as dreamed of, well knowing that such an attempt would have brought a violent persecution on all the Catholics in the north-country. The Duchess herself was so convinced of his innocence of what was laid to his charge that, as soon as she was informed of his being taken and carried to prison, she used all her interest, and gave herself no peace till he was restored to liberty, and henceforward he enjoyed the same security as before, and the persecution that threatened immediately subsided. Though the Bishops and missioners were in the midst of dangers, and destitute of all human aid, they did not despond, but putting their trust in Providence, attended to their functions with great fervour and with good success. For they had the satisfaction of reconciling many to the Church in most parts of the Missions, and many of the better sort of people among the Protestants favoured them. Hence they despised the threats of the ministers,

[1] Bishop Raess, in *Die Convertiten*, has recorded the "Singular circumstances which attended the conversion to Catholicism, of Andrew, a scion of the ducal House of Gordon. Born in Paris in 1717, he was educated in England, after his father's death, as a Protestant. In 1755 he visited Rome, and together with his attendants sought an audience of Pope Benedict XIV., with the sole object of turning into ridicule the ceremonial of reception. So deeply, however, was he impressed by the venerable aspect of the Pontiff, that when the latter inquired what he sought of him, he exclaimed: 'Holy Father, I ask for a priest, to instruct me in the Catholic religion.' He was received into the Church the same year, and brought up his children in the Catholic Faith. He died in 1761."—Quoted by Bellesheim, vol. iv. p. 193.

though backed by the military and civil powers in the kingdom, which were inveterate enemies to the Catholic religion.

1729

The difficulties of the Mission occasioned by the want of hands, and of money to maintain the few they had, were greatly increased this year. Of the two Irish friars who had come to the Mission a few years before, one died, and the other went to Ireland for his health, which left a great blank in the Highlands, where labourers were most necessary. Though Bishop Gordon had not wherewith to maintain them, and consequently could give but little encouragement to labourers to come to the country, yet he wrote pressingly to France for more, and this year one or two Irish were sent to the Mission to supply the place of their brethren, who had left it, or died. Hence there were seventeen missioners in the Highlands, and twenty in the Lowlands. But the small funds of the Mission were by no means sufficient to give to each one a small pittance; and, besides, they were obliged to anticipate their small income, which, though it was a present relief, yet was attended with pernicious consequences, involving them in debts which they were not able to pay.

In order to procure some relief to their present necessities, Bishop Gordon directed Mr Stuart to present a memorial to the Congregation for an extraordinary allowance, and to represent to them that a hundred years before, the Congregation had fixed an ordinary allowance of five hundred crowns a year for the maintenance of only ten missioners; that now their number was more than triple; that the ministers were daily multiplying the number of their school-masters

and catechists in the Highlands, in order to pervert the Catholics, which obliged the Bishop to send a greater number of missioners to the country to defeat their designs; and that he had at great expense called missioners from France and Ireland to serve the people, but was unable to support them. These reasons were so strong, and the case so urgent, that Mr Stuart immediately obtained an extraordinary subsidy of four hundred crowns. But this proved only a temporary relief, and not a durable and constant support, which they stood in need of, for a part of it went to extinguish their debts, and the rest was distributed among the missioners. . . .

The Nuncio had orders from the Congregation to treat with Mr Carnegie about another affair, which they had much at heart. This was to try if any expedient could be found to get the young Duke of Gordon and his brothers brought up Catholics. He was desired to apply to the King of France and to Cardinal Fleury, and to correspond with Bishop Gordon; but the Bishop and Mr Carnegie soon convinced him that this scheme, although very desirable, was absolutely impracticable, and even dangerous; wherefore it was dropped. . . .

1730

Though there was this year no general persecution in the Mission, yet in some places very cruel partial persecutions were carrried on by the justices of peace and other civil magistrates at the instigation of the ministers, particularly in the Isle of Mull. Some gentlemen having been converted there, one of them was cast into prison, another was obliged to leave the kingdom, others to leave the shire, and could scarce

settle with safety in any place. In most places where the Catholics were more numerous, the ministers harassed them with a thousand arts, and caused the poorer sort, when they refused to comply, to be perpetually vexed and fined by the magistrates. The school-masters and catechists, when they found themselves supported by the lairds and other proprietors, dragged by force to their kirks, the country people and tradesmen, and poorer sort of Catholics; and when they showed great reluctance, beat them unmercifully.

This, although a great calamity, was not the only one the poor Mission was liable to. Their distresses were greatly increased this year. The number of the missioners daily decreased. Some of them, particularly the Irish, left on account of the want and misery they suffered; the strength of others was exhausted by fatigue and sickness; others again daily threatened to leave the Mission for want of the means of living. Bishop Gordon was very sensibly affected in the course of his visits, to see so many souls, who showed such ready dispositions to become Catholics, perish for want of pastors to instruct them and reside among them, and so many old Catholics, for the same reason, deprived of the use of the Sacraments and other spiritual helps of the Church.

But though his mind was tortured with many cares and anxieties, nothing touched him so much as the cries of the people for pastors on the one hand, and on the other the cries of the missioners for support. Many declared they were unable to hold out any longer; and although he had been accustomed to such complaints before, now they pierced his heart, as he found himself unable to relieve them. But what grieved him most of all was that being weakened by age and infirmities, and

unable to visit the missioners and Catholics so frequently and with such diligence, he was afraid of losing in great part the fruit of so many years of labour, at a time when he had reason to expect a most plentiful harvest, if those who were to cultivate it had not either left it, or lost heart and health through misery and want. In this perplexity he had no other refuge but to have recourse to Propaganda.

On former occasions, Mr Stuart, the Procurator, complained that Bishop Gordon was always too modest in his demands for subsidies; but this time he spoke plainly and boldly. He represented to them that the extraordinary subsidy of four hundred crowns granted last year had only served for a small refreshment to the most indigent missioners, but could not serve for a constant support, or to increase their number. He said that in many places the Protestants showed a great inclination to embrace the Catholic faith, and implored his assistance, begging of him in a lamentable manner to settle missioners among them, and promising to become converts; and that he could not, without grief, abandon so many people well disposed to the faith. He knew their sincerity by his experience of others. In proof of this, he added that, after he returned to Scotland with the episcopal character, and began to visit the Highlands regularly and diligently, the number of the faithful had increased so rapidly that in one place where he found about twenty, there were now, after placing a missioner among them, about seven hundred; in another, where there were about a hundred and fifty, there were now about eight hundred; in another, where there were about a hundred and twenty, there were now six hundred; in another, where there were few or none, there were now three hundred; and that in general

in most places, where the missioners constantly resided among them, their number was doubled, tripled, and quadrupled. This plentiful harvest he attributed to the increase in the number of missioners, and their constant residence among the people.

But now he signified to them that unless their Eminences gave a favourable ear to the pious desires of so many persons aspiring to the faith, and sent a sufficient fund to maintain missioners, not only would many souls be lost, but that there was great danger that the number of the faithful would decrease, especially as the ignorant, unwary and weak, being deprived of the assistance of their pastors, were daily exposed to the persecutions and snares of the ministers. Such a strong representation could not fail of success, and in fact it produced an extraordinary subsidy next year.

Considering the above state of the Mission, the settling a Bishop in the Highlands became an object of necessity; and therefore Bishop Gordon this year proposed to the Congregation the person he judged most qualified for that office. This was Mr Hugh Macdonald, a member of a most numerous clan, and a man of great experience of the country. He was more remarkable for his zeal and piety than for his birth, and was endued with great prudence and modesty, though rather young. He had studied at Scalan, and applied with great ardour and success to those branches proper for a missioner, but he had never been out of the country. His person was very acceptable, both to the missioners and others whom Bishop Gordon consulted. This business was happily concluded the following year. Bishop Gordon was employed this summer in visiting the Low country, Glenlivet, Strathaven, his schools and seminary. Bishop Wallace

served those in the south as much as his weak state of health allowed him. This year he was in great danger from a loss of blood, a distemper not very incident to one of his age, being now in his seventy-sixth year; however, he recovered. I find no mention of any other transactions of the Mission this year.

1731

About the beginning of this year, an extraordinary subsidy of 400 crowns was remitted to Bishop Gordon by the Congregation. This proved a very seasonable supply, and the missioners were greatly animated by it to persevere in their labours, and to brave all difficulties and dangers, seeing the Congregation so much concerned for them. But at the same time that he thanked their Eminences for this subsidy, he signified to them that in a short time the missioners would be reduced to the same straits, which were too great for human weakness to bear, unless the Congregation continued to afford them a constant support. In fact, before the end of the year, in the course of his visits, he was molested anew with the complaints and straits of many zealous missioners, whose labours had been attended with great success. He was greatly affected by their situation, as he foresaw that if their penury were not relieved, some of them would be tempted to leave the Mission; and this at a time when its necessities and circumstances required that their number should rather be augmented. For, on the one hand, numerous converts were daily offering themselves, and on the other, the ministers were perpetually molesting both old and new Catholics by means of their itinerant preachers, catechists, and school-masters.

Wherefore he represented the case in strong terms to the Congregation, and this produced a new subsidy of 400 crowns more before the end of the year, which put a stop to the complaints of the missioners for the time. Besides the numerous converts made by the missioners in different parts of the country, Bishop Gordon himself was obliged to take long journeys at the request of some very respectable converts in order to instruct them and reconcile them to the Church. In a certain city, which he does not name, but calls it *insigne oppidum*, a greater number, than ever had been remembered, showed a good inclination to the Catholic Faith, notwithstanding the troublesome times; and many of them embraced it. The ministers and magistrates were so irritated that they immediately began to persecute both the converts and the missioner, who had reconciled them to the Church. The missioner was obliged to retire for a time; some of the converts had to remove from that place to another, and others were deprived of the freedom of the city, so that they could not exercise the trades by which they gained their bread.

In the first place, Bishop Gordon repeated his petition to the Congregation to appoint Mr Hugh Macdonald Bishop and Vicar-Apostolic in the Highlands. As for journeys, Dr Gordon spent the whole year in perpetual courses from one end of the kingdom to the other, on account of the necessities of the Mission. In spring he was called to Aberdeen once or twice, on account of some converts. In the beginning of summer he was summoned thence to Edinburgh in great haste by a Duchess, who was in danger of death. This must have been the Dow. Duchess of Gordon, or her daughter, the Duchess of Perth. As he was in the south, he visited

WINTOUN HOUSE.

From R. W. Billing's "Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland."

Galloway and Nithsdale, at the request of the Catholics, who were longing much to see him. There he gave Confirmation, and despatched other necessary business. From Galloway he returned to Edinburgh, and after having done the ordinary business there, set out again for the north, taking on his way those districts where there were Catholics, in which he found a great many important affairs to settle, and many scandals to remove. But what was a great inconvenience to him, he was obliged to take a long journey to the far Highlands at a very unseasonable time of the year, on account of some great scandals that had fallen out in that part of the country, which he remedied with all the prudence he could. From thence he was under the necessity of returning to Edinburgh with all expedition to meet with Bishop Wallace and consecrate Bishop Macdonald.[1]

The period contained in this chapter was a time of great distress and sufferings for the Bishops, missioners, and Catholics; but the next chapter will contain trials of a different kind.

Here ends Mr Thompson's manuscript; what follows is from the pen of the Abbé Macpherson.

1732

When Bishop Gordon and the missioners in Scotland had obtained what they so much desired for the good of the Mission (viz., a Bishop for the Highland district, to obviate inconveniences and future disputes), it was thought expedient to settle the limits of each vicariate. This Bishop Gordon and Bishop Macdonald

[1] Mr Macdonald was appointed Bishop on the 12th of February 1731, and consecrated in Edinburgh on the 13th of October 1731.

did without any controversy. The Bishops took for their principal rule in dividing the districts, the language that was spoken in the different places concerned. Glenlivet and Strathaven are the only exceptions. These Bishop Gordon designedly kept in his own vicariate, on account of his seminary settled at Scalan, though the Erse at the time was the only language spoken in them.

Bishop Hugh Macdonald, finding himself now burdened with so weighty a charge, began seriously to consider of the best means for the preservation and advancement of religion in his extensive district. By his own personal knowledge of the country, he was very sensible of two things; that the people in general were well inclined to the Catholic Faith, and that the number of missioners was by far too small to give proper assistance to such as already were Catholics. Besides, of the few clergymen he had, the greatest number were either Scotch or Irish religious, who, being bound by no other obligation to the Mission than their own inclination, it could not be expected that they would continue long in a life so full of labours and so void of conveniences. This presumption had been too often confirmed by past experience to admit of a doubt.

The only effectual remedy that he or Bishop Gordon could think of was to establish a fixed permanent seminary. The good effects of such an establishment had been sensibly felt in the Highlands from the temporary exertions of Bishop Gordon in that way; and much more were they evident from the more durable seminary at Scalan. The then existing circumstances of the Highlands peculiarly demanded an establishment of this nature. Government and the Society for propagating Presbyterianism in these regions offered

sufficient encouragement to such Protestant schoolmasters as should settle there. Allured by lucre or fired by fanaticism, herds of such people flocked to those parts. Partly by fair means, but oftener by violence, they made Catholic parents send their children to their schools, where every means was used to decoy them from their religion, and often not without success. The oppressive measures adopted by those zealots to bring Catholic children to their schools, though openly countenanced by the General Assembly, hurt the feelings, not only of all the Catholics, but likewise of every Protestant of generous and humane sentiments. The great apology made for such arbitrary and unnatural proceedings was that, as there were no other schools in those places, such children could have no education unless they frequented them. The plea was specious, and every friend to Catholicity in those parts wished to see it done away with by erecting a Catholic seminary. This, besides many more, was a powerful motive to Bishop Hugh not to delay a moment in executing what he saw so necessary for the preservation of religion in his vicariate.

He represented his situation in strong terms to Propaganda, and earnestly begged assistance for such a necessary undertaking. Mr Stuart the agent presented to the Congregation strong memorials to the same purpose, and he was supported by King James and Cardinal Rivera[1] the Protector. Such a crying necessity could not fail to touch the hearts of the Cardinals, and about the latter end of this year a considerable sum was granted. Bishop Hugh did not await

[1] Domenico Rivera, born at Urbino on the 3rd of December 1671, was made Cardinal on the 2nd of March 1733, and appointed Protector of the Scots and their College; died on the 10th of November 1752.

the issue of his petition to Propaganda to begin his seminary. Aided by the contributions of Bishop Gordon, Mr Lewis Innes at Paris, and Mr Stuart in Rome, and some other friends, he, having pitched on the Isle of Morar for the seat of his seminary, began the building as early as the season would permit. For his choice of this place he had many reasons; and he particularly preferred it to others, on account of its being entirely peopled by Catholics. So active was he in the execution of this work that before the end of June he had, besides several boarders, who did not intend embracing the clerical state, four youths training up for our college abroad. Having given the proper directions with regard to the seminary, Bishop Hugh commenced the visit of his wide district in the month of April. Everywhere he was received by the Catholics with every mark of sincere joy, and by the Protestants for his own great personal qualifications and the distinguished rank of his family, he was treated with much politeness. He gave Confirmation in many places, and had the consolation to see many new converts among the number of those who received this Sacrament.

Bishop Gordon was in continual motion during this winter. So much was he revered for his prudence and piety that every Catholic, whether he was of the clergy or laity, wished him to be present at the settling of matters of any importance; and his zeal and charity could not refuse them. Hence I often find him in the dead of the same winter, now in Galloway, then in Edinburgh, again in Aberdeen and the Enzie. In the month of April he and Bishop Wallace wrote from Aberdeen to Propaganda, thanking their Eminences for the seasonable subsidy granted last year, and pathetically representing the vast hardships under

which the missioners laboured. "There is not one of them," Bishop Gordon says, "but does more work than three could do with any degree of convenience. Of this, however, they do not complain; their zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls makes such fatigues easy to them. But to be in real want of the most pressing necessaries of life is too much for human nature to bear. How often since I had the charge of this Mission, with a heart pierced with the deepest grief, have I known these truly apostolic men, after travelling the whole day through snow and rain from one village to another, assisting the sick, instructing converts, and comforting the distressed, retire at night to their miserable habitations, where they had neither fire nor meat to relieve oppressed nature. Many have the heroic charity to lose their lives under these miseries rather than abandon their charge; but this cannot be expected of all. Hence, if their Eminences wish to preserve religion in that country, they must make some permanent addition to the annual allowance granted to the Missions of Scotland from their first establishment. When there were only ten missioners, two thousand five hundred crowns yearly were assigned to them; now there are about thirty, and the income is the same."

These strong remonstrances did not produce the effect Bishop Gordon intended; nor indeed am I surprised at it. Propaganda was not then so rich as it became in future years. It had all the Missions in the world to take care of. It is true many of them were supported by France and Spain and by religious orders; yet the greatest part were provided for by Propaganda, and all of them had something from it. Till the present revolution in France, there was not a kingdom in the world had so much from it as Scotland, exclusive

of the extraordinary subsidies that were so frequent and so liberally granted.

1733

Bishop Wallace at a very advanced age, twenty-five years of which he spent in missionary labours, died on the 1st of July, leaving behind him, in the minds of Catholics and even of his Protestant acquaintance, a deep impression of his piety and Christian zeal. His charity to the indigent was so great, and his contempt for all worldly riches so high, that though he had a genteel patrimony from his own family, and was extremely parsimonious and sparing on himself, there was not effects enough belonging to him found after his death to bear the charges of his funeral. He had been Bishop for thirteen years. During the greater number of these, his old age and daily infirmities made it impossible for him to ease Bishop Gordon much of the weighty load with which he had to struggle. Still he was much regretted, for his piety and mild zeal endeared him to all.

1741

During that year, and the most part of the present, the famine, particularly in the Highlands, was extreme. To this day it is remembered with horror in those parts. Glenlivet and Strathaven, with the adjacent regions, were starved. I recollect to have heard from numberless persons of these parts, who lived at the time, that they saw many die of mere hunger; and that during the whole summer of this year, the only resource they had to preserve their lives was bleeding their cattle every

other day, and supporting life with that food. This would have also failed them, as the cattle, weakened by constant bleeding, were fast perishing (many indeed were already dead), had not Providence hastened, long before the usual time, a luxuriant crop, part of which was cut down before it arrived at half maturity. In the Highlands of Perthshire the famine was equally great. I had it from eye-witnesses that about Stobhall, and other parts round Perth, entire families, whom hunger forced from the Highlands, were found dead of mere famine, in the ditches and behind hedges.

Here it may not be improper to mention an anecdote of a Catholic farmer, near Stobhall. His name was John Cook, and he lived on the farm of Campsie. He was a good Christian in everything, but particularly remarkable for his charity. His crop of last year was tolerably good; and as there was a great demand, he sold all that he thought his own family could spare early in the year. Of this he repented when in the spring and summer he saw such crowds of starved wretches come down from the Highlands. He determined, however, to share with them what remained. There was not a day but whole dozens of entire families came to beg relief; and there was not one sent off without a large supply of meal. He cleared out as many office-houses as he possibly could spare, to accommodate and shelter these poor creatures in the night-time; and there passed not a night but these houses were full. Thus he continued during all the spring and summer, and yet at the beginning of harvest he found he had as much meal remaining as he could have expected, had he supported only his own family with it. His harvest this year was so plentiful, that he had difficulty to find room to contain it. These are facts I had not only from his

children, but from many others, both Catholics and Protestants, who were eye-witnesses of it, and are in life at this day. . . .

1744

Unfortunately there are no papers remaining for this year. As far as I can learn, nothing very material happened in the Mission. Last year Scotland suffered very much from a bad crop. The missioners had their share in this hardship, which was the more severely felt because they received none of their money settled in Paris by reason of new regulations which the scarcity of money made the French Government adopt in regard of the public funds.

CHAPTER X

CULLODEN TO CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL

Introductory Note

We now come to the last period of the persecution of the Church in Scotland. It has been reckoned that the severities of the Civil War period lessened the number of Catholics by some fifteen thousand, and the oppressive legislation of the early eighteenth century weighed heavily on those who remained faithful. The laws which prevented Catholics from purchasing or inheriting lands, or handed estates over to the nearest Protestant heirs, were especially grievous. Priests could hardly live except under the protection of the gentry, and as these were exterminated, the number of the clergy was sensibly growing less and less. Then came the rising of 1745, not at all an exclusively Catholic movement, but one in which many Catholics certainly did join. But while its initial successes effected little for the good of the Church, its final suppression was disastrous both to the clergy and laity.

1746.—Immediately after Culloden, orders were issued to demolish all the Catholic chapels and to apprehend the priests. The Catholics were in a most dismal state of misery, deprived of their cattle and of all their property, and their houses were burnt to the ground. Many fell victims to cold and hunger, as food was very dear. The missionaries had no money, and none could be sent to them. They could not attend their people, except in the dead of night (p. 344). Soon after the battle of Culloden, Father John Farquharson, S.J., his brother, Father Charles Farquharson, S.J., Father Alexander Cameron of Lochiel, S.J., Mr Alan Macdonald, and Mr Alexander Forrester, were taken prisoners and put on board a man-of-war to be carried to London. Mr James Grant was for several weeks chained by the leg to a Mr MacMahon, an Irish officer, in the prison at Inverness. Mr Alexander Godsman,

and Mr George Duncan were also imprisoned. Father Alexander Gordon, S.J., died in prison.

1751.—The departure from Scotland of young Mr Bower of Methie, and some other Catholic youths sent to Paris for their education, raised a great storm. Orders were issued by Government to apprehend all the missionaries. Bishop Smith made his escape to England (p. 350). The Pope solicited the Catholic Powers to intercede for the Scottish Catholics.

Early in the year 1756, Bishop Macdonald was tried in Edinburgh on the indictment of his being by habit and repute a Popish priest. Sentence of banishment was pronounced against him. He changed his name and retired to the north. He was not indeed then only freed from all trouble, but other Catholics now began to enjoy some peace.

The expedition of Prince Charles had greatly reduced the number of Catholics in Scotland, 1000 being either killed or banished on that occasion. The war between France and Britain in 1744 destroyed a considerable number of Catholics. Six or seven thousand Scots Catholics were in the British army on that occasion (p. 360). Though persecution had considerably abated in the Highlands, it was not quite extinguished. The factors on the forfeited estates, in 1765, had been urged to force the Catholics on those estates either to renounce their faith or to leave their possessions. All the Catholics boldly protested that no consideration would ever make them abandon their faith (p. 362).

In 1771, Macdonald of Boisdale organised a cruel persecution in South Uist and other islands where he had considerable property, and forced all his Catholic tenants either to abandon their religion or to leave his lands. It was resolved to send all the Catholics to St John's Island at the mouth of the river St Lawrence. Mr James Macdonald accompanied them as missionary (p. 364).

1778.—Bishop Hay took the first steps in a negotiation for the repeal of the penal laws, but it was thought advisable to bring in an English Bill first. The Lord Advocate pledged his honour to Bishop Hay and to Lord Linton, that whatever favour should be granted to the English, he would take care that the same should be granted to Scottish Catholics (p. 370). The bill in favour of the English Catholics was passed by the English Parliament, and at once the Synods of Glasgow, Perth, and Dundee passed violent resolutions against it. They communicated their frenzy to all the Synods and Presbyteries in Scotland and prepared the way for riots in Edinburgh,

Glasgow, Dundee, and other places (p. 375). Bishop Hay in a pastoral letter, dated the 8th of February 1779, besought the Catholics not to be discouraged and not to harbour the least resentment (p. 381).

Towards the end of 1792 a most unjust claim advanced by a Protestant to the estates of a Catholic gentleman made it imperative for Scottish Catholics to appeal to Parliament. A bill for the repeal of the penal laws was proposed in the House of Commons by the Lord Advocate, and the bill triumphantly passed both Houses of Parliament and obtained the Royal assent on the 3rd of June 1793 (pp. 383-391).

Though the British court could not be ignorant of the intention of Prince Charles Stuart to try his fortune in Scotland, and of the preparations making for that purpose, they caused no extraordinary vexations to Catholics. Such was the generally prudent conduct observed by the British Bishops and clergy that Government conceived no jealousy of them. It must, however, be acknowledged that on the Prince's landing in Scotland, though the British Bishops kept perfectly clear of any political concern in his affairs, there were among their clergy those whose conduct was not so prudent. It was natural for Catholics to wish success to his cause. For, though they had enjoyed tolerable peace on the part of Government since the accession of the house of Brunswick to the British throne, they frequently were much harassed by the Scots Presbyterians, who, by the standing barbarous penal laws, were fully authorised to persecute them. They had reason to hope that a sovereign of their own communion would release them from their long miseries. They did not forget that since the Revolution, his family had been their chief support in foreign kingdoms. Nor did they think that in favouring him they acted against the laws of good order and subordination. He was the undoubted heir of their ancient Kings, whose grandfather, in their decided

opinion, was deprived of the throne by the vile intrigues of worthless men.

Some Account of the State of the Catholic Religion in Scotland during the years 1745-6-7, *by* BISHOP GEDDES. (*From the original MS. at Archbishop's House, Edinburgh.*)

Before the year 1745, for a considerable period the persecution against the Catholics of Scotland had been nowise severe. The penal laws against them were indeed always hanging over their heads; they were excluded from all civil and military employments, and from time to time they were exposed to inconvenience from the malice of their enemies; but, commonly speaking, they were allowed to live in peace, and in many places of the kingdom they had the exercise of their religion public enough.

The Scottish Catholics were generally desirous of the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Britain; nor is this to be wondered at. They inherited those principles from their fathers. There were princes of that house claiming the right of their ancestors, which they had a prospect of recovering, from the great number of their friends. Besides, the Scottish Catholics were discouraged and much exposed to oppression; it was, therefore, natural for them to wish for an event that was likely to release them, and put them again in possession of the privileges of free-born citizens.

In the month of July of the year 1745, there was a meeting at Edinburgh of the Bishops and Administrators, at which Bishops Gordon, Smith, and Hugh Macdonald were present. As Bishop Macdonald was

returning home he unexpectedly met, in Lorn, with Mr Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart, from whom he learnt that Prince Charles Stuart, with only seven gentlemen, 1500 stand of arms, and the value of £17,000 sterling of money, was arrived on the western coast. Mr Macdonald looked upon the attempt as desperate; but said that by honour he was engaged in it, and would lose his life in the cause; nay, by a strange presentiment, he specified the very manner of his death, and said that he would be hanged. He went forward to concert measures with the Duke of Perth, and to procure British money for 2000 louis d'or that he had with him. The Bishop proceeded to Moidart, on the coast of which, near Borrodale, was the Prince, still on board the vessel in which he had come from France, and under the name and disguise of a French Abbé. The Bishop was introduced to him, and the Prince asked him his opinion and advice. The Bishop candidly told him that the country was not prepared for his reception, and that his coming had not been expected till the year following—that any attempt at the present time would endanger his person and probably ruin his best friends; that therefore his advice was to return to France immediately in the same ship, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. This advice was little relished by the young adventurer, and the Bishop was little more consulted. All this I have heard repeatedly from Bishop Hugh Macdonald's own mouth.

About the same time Mr Macdonald of Boisdale likewise advised the Prince, in the first place, to return to France; but if he did not choose to do that, he insisted that he ought to go about and land on the estate of Mr Macdonald of Sleat, or on that of Macleod; for, if he trusted himself to them in the beginning, they

would certainly join him, which otherwise they would not do. The Prince would not follow this counsel, being influenced by others. Mr Macdonald wished him success, but excused himself from taking any active part in his cause. This Mr Macdonald returned to Uist, and probably prevented the people there and in Barra from taking arms; their distance was also a hindrance.

On the 19th of August the Prince's Royal Standard was blessed by Bishop Macdonald, and displayed in Glenfinnan, a part of Moidart belonging to Mr Macdonald of Glenaladale. The Catholics of Moidart, Arisaig, Knoidart, Morar, Glengarry, and Lochaber took arms under their respective chiefs, and composed a considerable part of the little army which the Prince led on to Edinburgh. Mr Alan Macdonald accompanied Clanranald's men as their chaplain, and as confessor to the Prince; Mr Macgillis went as chaplain to Glengarry's men. These, I think, were the only two priests who were with the Highlanders until after the battle of Prestonpans, excepting that Mr James Leslie was assisting the dying and wounded on the day of that engagement. They wore the Highland dress, with sword and pistol, and went under the name of Captain.

In the meantime, Mr Gordon of Glenbucket raised all the men he could in Glenlivet and Strathaven, and, as these were mostly Catholics, it was judged proper that they should have with them a priest for their chaplain; wherefore Mr John Tyrie, who was the missionary in Glenlivet, and Mr William Grant, who was missionary in Strathaven, cast lots to determine which of them should go with the men, and which remain to have the charge of the two countries. The lot for going fell on Mr Tyrie, to the regret of Mr

Grant. About the same time, Mr John Gordon, missionary in the parish of Rathven in the Enzie, preached a sermon in his chapel at Homie, warmly exhorting the young men to enlist in the Prince's service; and when he came out a dozen young men accepted from him the white cockade. This was the beginning of a company of about fifty men, of which Mr Charles Gordon, brother of Mr Gordon of Glastirum, was made captain. Mr John Gordon accompanied them to Edinburgh, and then returned home. They made a part of the Duke of Perth's regiment. In as far as I know the only priests who went with the Prince's army into England were the above-mentioned Messrs Macdonald, Macgillis, Tyrie, and Mr Robert Leith, who was afterwards Abbot of Ratisbon. In the meantime what regarded the Catholic religion in Scotland went on as before: for some months all was suspense.

I may here mention that, in the winter, Father Macdonnell, a Benedictine monk at Ratisbon, of the Scothouse family, presented a memorial to King James at Rome, proposing to raise a regiment in Bavaria and conduct it to Scotland, provided he should get money for the necessary expense. His zeal was commended, but his project was deemed romantic.

At the battle of Falkirk, Mr Alan Macdonald rode along the line and gave his blessing, which the Catholics received on their knee. On the 18th February, O.S., Bishop Gordon died at Thornhill, near Drummond Castle, in the house of Mrs Mary Drummond, a Catholic lady, and was buried at Innerpeffery, the burial place of the family of Perth. Before his corpse was removed from Thornhill, a party of King George's army had already come to Drummond Castle.

As the Duke of Cumberland's army came north, the

missionaries either retired before it or skulked behind. When it came to Aberdeen, Mr George Gordon was advised to leave the town. When General Bland came with a body of troops to Huntly, in the month of March, Mr William Reid retired from his house at Mortlach, but was apprehended in a cottage near the Balloch Hill, carried to Edinburgh, and detained prisoner for several months. He was liberated upon giving bail for his appearance when called, and returned to his flock. Mr Colin Campbell was on the field of Culloden, and was not heard of afterwards, whence it is supposed that he was killed. Mr John Tyrie was also there, and heard some confessions; but in the end he received two wounds in the head from a horseman's sword, and got off with great difficulty. I do not know what other priests may have been present at that action.

Immediately after the battle of Culloden, orders were issued for demolishing all the Catholic chapels, and for apprehending the priests. In consequence of these orders, before the end of April, a party of the army burned the chapel at Tulloch, near Tynet, in the Enzie; and also burned the altar, pulpit, and seats of the chapel in the other parish, sparing the building; because, in burning it, there would have been danger of setting fire to the neighbouring houses. On this occasion some sacerdotal vestments and books were found, carried to Cullen, and there burned in the street. In doing this, one Lieutenant Monro was very active. He put on the vestments in ridicule, and tossed books and vestments into the fire. That very afternoon, a soldier who had been arrested for some misdemeanour by Lord Charles Gordon, commander of the party, got hold of a gun or pistol in the Tolbooth, and fired with

an intention to kill Lord Charles, but the ball passing through the cuff of his lordship's coat, pierced Monro's belly, and wounded him mortally. It was remarkable that his blood actually ran among the ashes of the books and vestments. I was assured of this fact by credible eye-witnesses a few hours after it happened, and it was afterwards confirmed to me by Mr John Godsman, to whom the vestments had belonged.[1]

Something similar happened in the Isle of Uist that same summer. A man had been very busy in the burning of some Catholic books and vestments. Soon after, his companion's gun went off accidentally, and lodged the shot in that foot with which he had kicked the books and vestments into the fire. This wound could not be cured: the foot mortified, and he died in a short time.

About the middle of May a party of troops were sent to Glenlivet, where they burned a pretty good house at Scalan, which had been built about seven years before. Mr William Duthie, who had then the care of

[1] I know not if the carrying of these vestments and books to Cullen be correct; the tradition of the lieutenant's death still exists. It is said to have taken place in Fochabers; the book, etc. . . . having been thrown into the fire made of the furniture of the chapel.

The tolbooth of the then town of Fochabers commanded a full view of the whole square; the pillory with its chain and collar is standing at present, almost the sole remnant of the town, but marking the site of the tolbooth. My father related the story frequently to me; and his grandfather was an eye-witness of the whole, and possibly the informant whom Bishop Geddes here refers to. (Note by Rev. Wm. Thompson.)

When the vestments, books, etc., were being burned in Cullen, a soldier struck his bayonet in one of the books, dragged it from the fire, and pitched it over his head. It fell among the crowd; was picked up by one who gave it to my mother's grandfather; and it is at present in my possession. It is an old English prayer book, or book of instructions. It was struck thrice by the bayonet, but the blows at the top and bottom lost their hold, the third hole is about an inch from the top, through about a hundred leaves. (Note by the late Rev. Wm. Clapperton of Buckie.)

the place, had previously removed the books and vestments; and, after the burning he lived for some months in one of the neighbouring cottages until he got something of a lonely habitation raised up for himself at Scalan. At the same time they burned the house of Mr John Tyrie at the Bochle; and I think, the chapel in Strathaven. The chapel at Tombay was spared on account of the neighbouring houses, but all that was within it was taken out and committed to the flames. The chapel of Robestown, in Strathbogie, was also burned, and likewise, I believe, everything of that kind in the Highlands. The chapel of Mortlach was not, it seems, taken notice of.

We come now to speak of the Bishops and other missionaries. Bishop Smith who now, by Bishop Gordon's death, was Vicar-Apostolic of the Lowlands, remained quietly in the south, and principally at Edinburgh, giving what directions and encouragements he could by letters and faithful messengers to the missionaries; until, in the summer of 1747, he obtained a passport under the name of Mr Brown, by the procurement of Miss Katie Innes, sister to the Laird of Leuchars in Moray, who had been converted to the Catholic Faith. With this passport he visited the Missions of the north, and returned safely to Edinburgh.

When the troops penetrated into the western Highlands, Bishop Macdonald, with his brother, the Laird of Morar, Lord Lovat and others, retired to the island in Loch Morar, and drew all the boats to the island, flattering themselves that the troops would make but a short stay in those parts, and that they would be safe there till their departure. But, perceiving that the soldiers had brought a boat overland from the sea to the lake, they were obliged to disperse. During their

stay in the island Lord Lovat, who had been long a Catholic in his heart, wished to be received formally into the Church by Bishop Macdonald, and was preparing to make his confession. But now he was obliged to take refuge in the neighbouring woods, where he was taken care of by a gentleman of his own name for a day or two, until, not being able to bear any longer the inconvenience of that situation, he sent for an officer, to whom he surrendered himself. The party pillaged the house on the island, where they found several papers and letters, some of which were afterwards printed in a pamphlet with observations to render the Catholics odious; and among these were some letters written and signed by Mr James Grant, who was afterwards Bishop. From the time of his leaving Loch Morar, Bishop Macdonald lurked the best way he could, until in autumn he found an opportunity of getting over to France in one of the ships that came in search of the Prince, to save him from danger. The Bishop went to Paris, and lodged, I think, in the College. He proposed going to Rome, but the congregation de Propaganda Fide disapproved of this, and desired him to remain in France, that he might be nearer to give his flock any assistance in his power, and that he might return home the sooner when it should become practicable. An Irish Friar advised him strongly to go to Spain, and offered to be his conductor into that country where he was acquainted, assuring him they would there get plentiful alms for themselves and for the missionaries. The Bishop thanked him, but declined his offer. He obtained a pension of some hundreds of livres from the crown of France, which he enjoyed till his death, under the name of Marolle. He returned to Scotland in the year 1749, in the month of August.

Soon after the battle of Culloden, Mr John Farquharson,[1] who was missionary in Strathglass, and his brother Mr Charles, who had lately come from abroad, were advised to surrender themselves, which they did; and before this, Father Alexander Cameron,[2] of the family of Lochiel, another Jesuit, had been apprehended. Mr Alan Macdonald and Mr Alexander Forrester had likewise been made prisoners in the Isle of Uist. All these five were brought to Inverness and put on board a man-of-war, to be carried to England; but Father Cameron died at sea. The other four were detained for several weeks on board the ship at Tilbury Fort, where they were visited and assisted by charitable Catholics from London. To that city they were conveyed and kept for

[1] Father John Farquharson, S.J., belonged to the ancient house of Inveray, his brother and his nephew being chiefs of the clan Farquharson which had suffered so much for its attachment to the Stuarts. He himself was born at Braemar on the 19th of April 1699. He was in charge of the Mission of Strathglass. Escaping all persecution for some time, he built a chapel and priest's house at Fasnakyle, and travelled on foot through the district, instructing the young, and exhorting those of mature age to earnestness in the practice of their religion.

In the year 1745, however, the persecuting laws were re-inforced and proprietors of land were required, under the severest penalties, to apprehend all priests on their estates. Father Farquharson found it difficult to carry on his ministry, and withdrew to a cave enclosed among some boulders and small trees in Glencamrich, but commanding a view of the road for some three miles distant. Learning that the soldiers were on his track he went to meet them. He was apprehended and hurried into England, where he was confined for some time on board a vessel that awaited, in the Thames off Gravesend, a fair wind and tide for crossing over to Hanover. The captain took every care of his prisoner, and when landing him at the port, whispered in his ear that he would gladly take him back again to England free of all expense. Having returned at once to the scene of his past labours, Father Farquharson continued them for many years to come.

He spent the evening of his life as chaplain to his nephew, Alexander Farquharson of Inveray, and died at Ardeag, in the year 1782. (Fr. M'Leod's *Menology*.)

[2] Father Alexander Cameron, son of the Laird of Lochiel, and grandson of the famous Sir Ewen Cameron. He was born on the 17th of September

some months in the hands of a messenger. At last they were brought before the Duke of Newcastle, who was then Secretary of State. His Grace told them that they were to be banished upon the condition of their finding bail to the amount of £1000 each that they would never return to Britain. Upon their representing that it would be impossible for them to find such high bail, the Duke smiled, and said, that as he knew they were honest men, he would accept of the one's bail for the other. On the same occasion one of the gentlemen present took notice, in good humour, that to go to Scotland by Holland was not very far out of the way. They got over to Holland, and the Fathers Farquharson joined their brethren in Flanders. Father Charles did not return to Scotland until the year 1749; Father John returned sooner. Messrs Macdonald and Forrester went

1701, studied at Douay, is said to have been an officer in the French army, became groom of the bed-chamber to Prince Charles Stuart in Rome. He entered the Society in 1734, and was sent to the Scotch Mission of Strathglass in June 1741.

The unsuccessful attempts of the Stuarts in 1715 and 1745 occasioned an increase of severity towards the Catholics. Father Cameron was captured, conveyed to London, and placed in confinement in one of the hulks awaiting transportation abroad. At this juncture, Father John Farquharson, himself a prisoner on the Thames, bound for Hanover, was told by his captain that he had heard the voice of someone calling aloud from the hold of another vessel for a priest to come to him. Father Farquharson went at once, and to the intense delight of both, discovered that the mysterious unknown was no other than his friend Father Cameron. He was immediately removed to the good Father's ship, and lovingly attended by his former fellow-missioner up to his last moment. Father Cameron expired in the arms of his brother in religion on the 19th of October 1746, and was interred in a burial-place near the banks of the Thames. (Butler, *Hist. Memoirs*, ii. 445.)

Donald Cameron of Lochiel, captain of the Clan Cameron, after the battle of Culloden, retired to France; the King gave him the command of the Albany regiment, which was formed of the troops defeated at Culloden; and had been formed on the 28th of February 1747, by the Earl of Albany. (Cf. *Scots Men-at-Arms in France*, vol. ii. p. 221.)

on to Paris, from whence, in 1748, Mr Macdonald went to Rome, where he remained for a great many years. Mr Forrester returned to Scotland in 1747; was for a year with Mr Gordon at Miln of Smithston, and then went back to his former station at Uist.

Early in the spring of 1746 some ships of war came to the coasts of the Isle of Barra, and landed some men, who threatened they would lay desolate the whole island if the priest was not delivered up to them. Mr James Grant, who was missionary there and afterwards Bishop, being informed of these threats in a safe retreat in which he was, in a little island, surrendered himself, and was carried prisoner to Mingarry Castle, on the western coast, where he was detained for some weeks. He was then conveyed to Inverness and thrown into the common prison, where there were about forty prisoners in the same room with him. Here he was for several weeks chained by the leg to Mr MacMahon, an Irish officer in the service of Spain, who had come over to be of use to the Prince. In this situation they could not in the night-time turn from one side to the other without the one passing above the other. The people of the town, out of humanity, furnished them with some little conveniences, and, among other things, gave to each a bottle, which they hung out of the window in the morning, and got filled by charitable people with fresh water, which was an agreeable circumstance to Mr Grant. But one morning the sentinels accused the prisoners to the visiting officer of having entered into a conspiracy to knock them on the head with bottles, which they had procured for that purpose. Mr Grant and others pleaded the improbability of this ridiculous accusation; but they were not heard, and the bottles were taken away. Mr Grant was wont to own that he felt the

being deprived of this bottle more sensibly than any other thing that was done to him. At last his brother, John Grant, in Wester Boggs, got account where he was, visited him, gave him money, and made such interest with gentlemen of their clan as to get him liberated in May 1747, upon condition that under bail he should present himself when called; which he never was.

Mr Alexander Godsman was also made prisoner near Auchanacie, and detained for some days at Huntly; but was dismissed as a harmless person. Mr John Gordon, missionary at Robistown, was also prisoner for several months at Aberdeen. Mr George Gordon, missionary in the said city, was apprehended at Glenrinnes, but getting an opportunity of speaking to the sergeant who commanded the party, by himself alone, and giving him a guinea, he was let slip off. He got to Fochabers in the night, and stayed for three weeks with some of his relations in a garret-room. From this he went out to the house of Alexander Gordon in Conestones of Corridown, who was extremely hospitable to the Catholic priests in those troublesome times, according to the homely accommodation he could afford. Here Mr Gordon remained for some months, saying Mass to the neighbouring Catholics in the night-time, and amusing himself with reading, of which he was fond. Among other books hid for preservation which fell into his hands was an Italian grammar, from which he acquired a considerable knowledge of that language. At St Merry's Fair of Keith he met with several of his acquaintances from Aberdeen, who assured him that he might return safely to that city; and this he did before the end of September, resuming his apostolic functions with caution and privacy as the times required.

At Carlisle, Mr Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart, Mr Macdonell of Tiendrich, and Mr Charles Gordon, from Miln of Smithston, being condemned to death, found means of applying to Bishop Smith for spiritual assistance. At his desire, Mr George Duncan, who had been missionary in Angus, and had been prisoner for some short time, went cheerfully upon this delicate and dangerous expedition of charity. He got admittance to the prisoners as a friend of theirs, heard their confessions, as well as those of some English gentlemen who were in the same situation, communicated them, to their great comfort, having carried with him the Blessed Sacrament for that purpose, and got safely out of the town and back to Scotland without any interruption; but an information had been lodged against him by the magistrates, and a search was made for him a few hours after his departure.

To give an idea of the state of the Catholic religion in Scotland about this time, I shall briefly describe what I myself observed in the Enzie, where I then was. Mr John Gordon, who was missionary in the parish of Rathven,[1] which forms the eastern division of that country, having been very active in raising men for the Prince, as we have said, did not think it safe for him to appear in the neighbourhood of his former habitation for the first twelve months after the battle of Culloden; and, therefore, Mr John Godsman, who was missionary in the other parish—namely, that of Belley [? Beauly]—took upon him, with great care and diligence, the charge of all the people belonging to both congregations. He said Mass in various places, commonly in barns, and always in the night-time. Towards the end of the

[1] An extensive district which includes the greater part of the historic Enzie of Banff.

week he bespoke some barn that happened to be empty, in a place proper for the meeting of the people in the night, between the approaching Saturday and Sunday; and some trusty persons were sent to acquaint the heads of the Catholic families of this determination. On Saturday, when it was late at night, the Catholics convened at the appointed place; after midnight a sermon was made, Mass was said, and all endeavoured to get home before daybreak. These meetings were often very inconvenient, from the badness of the weather and the roads, and from the people being crowded together without seats; but all was borne with great alacrity and cheerfulness. They seemed to be glad to have something to suffer for their God, and for the profession of His holy religion. We many times got false alarms of searches to be made for us by the soldiers who were quartered in Fochabers; but such searches seldom or never took place, though informations were given, because the commanding officers were humane, and soon became intimately acquainted with respectable Catholics in Fochabers and in the neighbouring country. Mr Godsman was always in motion, discharging all the duties of a good pastor, and that often in the night-time, and he was clothed like a decent farmer. For several months he did not think it prudent to make any long stay at his own house in Auchenhalrig, and scarcely ever slept there, but in the houses of some of his friends in the country in the neighbourhood of the hills. After some time the officers in Fochabers, having been informed both by Catholics and by Protestants not only that he was a harmless person, but that he was really a saint, were disposed to make things easier for him. It was concerted that he should put himself in their power, which he did, and supped

with them in the house of Mr John Grant, a merchant in Fochabers, whose wife was a Catholic. Here the Captain asked Mr Godsman what he did to render himself obnoxious to the Government. He said that he only said his prayers, and advised as many as he could to be good Christians. "But you pray," replied the other, "against the King." "No, sir!" subjoined Mr Godsman, "I truly pray for the welfare of all men; of all whom the earth bears and the heavens cover." "Your charity," says the officer, "is universal enough. Say your prayers and give your advices as quietly and as cautiously as we understand you have hitherto done, and you need not be afraid of any molestation from us." From this time Mr Godsman was less apprehensive; but, out of prudence, he continued the same method until summer of the next year, 1747, when he began to have his meetings in a fixed place, which was a large cot, but still in the night-time, for a year afterwards. In June 1747, when the Act of Indemnity passed, Mr Gordon resumed some charge of his people, and was wont to celebrate, in a kiln at Easter Boggs, in the night also.

During this persecution rumours were spread that all the Scottish Catholics were to be banished to America, and it was confidently said in the beginning that the goods of all who should not go to the kirk would be confiscated. However, I did not hear of one who abandoned the Catholic religion; two or three, indeed, went once or twice to the kirk, but they very soon repented and returned to their duty. On the contrary, great fervour appeared among the Catholics, with great love to one another, and they seemed to be happy at being reduced to a state something like that of the first Christians. To their having these good

dispositions the example and exhortations of Mr Godsman greatly contributed, and I was witness of his receiving into the Church several persons in the winter immediately after the battle of Culloden.

In Glenlivet, Strathaven, Braemar, the western Highlands, and the Isle of Uist, the exercise of the Catholic religion was more disturbed by frequent searches made by troops for the missionaries. On this occasion Mr William Harrison distinguished himself by his courage and zeal. He presented himself to the sheriff of Argyllshire, told him frankly that he was a Catholic priest, but had neither done nor meant harm to anybody, and begged protection. The sheriff was well pleased with his confidence, and gave him a paper, signed by himself, requiring of everybody to allow him to go about his lawful business unmolested. In consequence of this, Mr Harrison, in the summers of 1746 and 1747, visited almost all the Catholics in the Highlands, administering the Sacraments, and exhorting the people to patience and perseverance in the faith. The missionaries continued to be much harassed and kept in constant alarms in many parts of the Highlands for more than ten years, until the war broke out in 1757, and then the parties that had been stationed through that country were called off to be sent abroad with the army. These are the chief particulars regarding the Catholic religion in Scotland during the two years after the battle of Culloden, that occur to me at present.

Father Alexander Gordon, eldest brother of the family of Glencat and a Jesuit, had been stationed in the Mission of Glengairn. He was apprehended soon after the battle of Culloden and carried to Inverness. At first he was treated with civility and was upon the point of being set at liberty, because the gentleman

who acted as Ambassador from France to the Prince acknowledged him for his chaplain. But a Presbyterian parson having given information how he had been employed before, he was thrown into the prison of the same town and put in irons, where he died in a short time of pleurisy.

Father Peter Gordon, who was afterwards long superior of the Jesuits under the name of Mr Johnston, being missionary in Braemar in the summer of 1746, was apprehended and brought to Aberdeen. Here Mr Menzies of Pitfodels immediately gave bail for him; upon which he returned to his former Mission and was in Braemar before the party who had conveyed him to Aberdeen got back to their castle in that country.[1]

1748

Bishop Smith, who had ever a great proportion of zeal and a poor stock of health, having now upon his shoulders the whole weight of the Mission, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, suffered much from the fatigue and anxiety he was obliged to undergo. By every opportunity that afforded, he requested Bishop Macdonald to return to his charge, and to bring as many priests with him as could possibly be procured. Bishop Macdonald was equally desirous to return; but many impediments lay in his way. He was in danger of being treated with severity, and even of losing his life, if discovered in Britain. There was no nearer road

[1] Mr Colin Campbell, priest, a brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell and a convert to the Catholic Church, was present at Culloden and received there the wounds of which he died. Father A. Gordon, S.J., who had laboured with great zeal and energy, and was greatly opposed to the spirit of faction, died in prison at Inverness, May 1746. (*Report of Bishop Smith*, quoted by Bellesheim, *op. cit.*, p. 400).

to Scotland on which he could venture, than passing through Portugal, and that would require a considerable sum of money, with which he was poorly provided. He had a fair prospect, remaining some time longer at Paris, of obtaining a pension from the French Court. In fact, towards the end of the year, he succeeded, and a thousand livres yearly were settled upon him during his life. Prince Charles had principally the merit of this. Mr Forrester, after many petitions, received a small viatic from Propaganda, to which a considerable addition was made by the college at Paris. Having thus obtained what he waited for, without further delay he departed for Scotland, where he arrived safely, and did much good for many years.

1751

When the Catholics expected, and indeed, began to enjoy some relaxation from the severe trials they had so long endured, a persecution as cruel as any they had suffered of a long time, was unexpectedly raised against them. This was principally owing to the rancorous animosity of the Presbyterian clergy, who never ceased crying out upon priests and Papists. Their cry redoubled upon the departure from Scotland of young Mr Bower[1] of Methie, and some other Catholic youths sent to Paris for their education. Orders were immediately issued by Government to apprehend all the missioners stationed in Glenlivet, Strathaven, Corgarff, and in every country where Catholics were numerous; and no churchman could appear in those countries. The fury of the persecution was in a particular manner

[1] Perhaps the cousin of Archibald Bower, the apostate, whose uncle, a clerk of the Signet, was punished for sending him.—*Month*, September 1908.

directed against Bishop Smith, so determined they were to apprehend him, that he was obliged, after lying concealed for a time, in the most secret manner, to make his escape to England. Mr Grant very urgently represented the injustice and cruelty of this persecution to the Cardinals of Propaganda. Their Eminences took much interest in this affair, and got the Pope to solicit the Catholic powers to make their ambassadors at the British Court intercede for the Catholics of Scotland. The Imperial, Sardinian, and Bavarian ministers interested themselves greatly in this pious work, and so strongly remonstrated on the subject, that the Duke of Ruthven Castle,[1] who was prime minister, promised the persecution should be stopped. Good Bishop Challoner got the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk to intercede with the Duke of Argyll to the same purpose; and he in like manner gave fair promises.

When Bishop Smith heard of this, he without delay returned to Scotland, where his presence was very necessary to comfort and encourage pastors and flock. After a short stay in the south, he went to the northern parts of his district, where, because the Catholics were more numerous, the persecution was hottest.

Though the promises of the ministers were not strictly fulfilled, they had some good effects, and the missioners in consequence of them, exercised, though with caution, their sacred functions. In the heat of the persecution, the sheriffs of Aberdeen and Banffshire were ordered to draw up an exact list of the Catholics in those countries, describing their characters and riches. This alarmed them, and made them apprehend that some

[1] There is a clerical slip here. The person intended is presumably Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, who became prime minister in 1754.

violent measures would be pursued by the Justiciary Lords in their circuit; but nothing material against Catholics was done on that occasion.

Besides hardships arising from persecution, the missioners still suffered the cruel effects of poverty; and though the British Bishops had often written to Rome on that score, they found there little inclination to relieve them. However, on the present occasion, by the interest of King James and Cardinal York, his son, Propaganda remitted them an extraordinary allowance of two hundred Roman crowns; which, though but little among so many, yet was most thankfully received. During the whole of this year there was but little communication between the Highland and Lowland missioners, on account of the persecution. Bishop Macdonald remained in the west, and with much difficulty escaped the search made for him by soldiers quartered in those parts.

1752

Mr George Innes, Principal of the Scots College at Paris, in the prime of life, and of a healthy constitution, was suddenly taken ill, and carried off in a few days. A better clergyman, a man of greater activity, of more learning and piety, of warmer zeal, and more prudence, can seldom be found. Even at this distance of time, I have great motive to regret his death. His letters were, I may say, the only documents I have had since the death of his uncle, Mr Thomas Innes, in compiling these annals. For the future, my materials for many years will be scanty.

A story was spread against Bishop Macdonald. It was given out by the Presbyterian ministers, and believed by Government, that he was commissioned to recruit men in the Highlands for the French army. Orders were given to the parties of soldiers stationed in the Highlands to apprehend him. To escape their snares he found it proper to withdraw to the Lowlands, and even change his name. He, in conjunction with Bishop Smith, wrote to Propaganda from Edinburgh in July, representing the still existing poverty of the missioners, and their harasses from the civil magistrates. The former, they say, Rome can remove. The latter, they fear, will continue a long time; as Government had allotted a considerable reward for the seizure of a priest. Two, whose names I know not, had been apprehended, and the promised money punctually paid. This gave reasonable alarm to all the rest. In their letter to Propaganda, the British Bishops earnestly request a coadjutor to Bishop Smith, who was in his seventieth year.

1753

The persecution still continued in the north and west. The Catholics and clergy in the south were not molested. The Bishops did not fail to give all the comfort and support in their power to their harassed flocks; and often exposed their own persons to great danger of being apprehended in assisting the Catholics whose pastors were obliged to abscond, or were banished.[1]

[1] In 1752, Bishop Hugh Macdonald, exposed to many and continual perils by land and sea, was persuaded by the advice of friends to yield to necessity and to make his escape for a time.

"For some years past we have been suffering more than ordinary perse-

1754

The persecution still continued, particularly in the Highlands. Mr Forrester, who had the charge of all the Catholics in Uist on his shoulders, became particularly obnoxious to the Presbyterian parsons in that island. They lodged with Government various calumnies against him, and got a military party to Uist purposely to apprehend him; which, if effectuated, might put even his life in danger; having, as we have formerly said, been banished to Scotland under the pain of death, if ever he should return. He, therefore, was under the hard necessity of abandoning his numerous flock, and lying concealed among the hills, till he found an opportunity of escaping into Ireland; whence he returned, after a short stay, to the south of Scotland; and a few months thereafter, found it safe to return to his charge.

cution. Sometimes it happens by the mercy of God that the virulence of our enemies is somewhat relaxed, but then, under the instigation of malevolent persons, it suddenly breaks out with new violence. The soldiers too, in hopes of gaining as much money as they know has already been paid to their comrades for captured priests, are constantly endeavouring to lay hands on the clergy.

"Very lately, in the County of Banff, where there are a great many Catholics, the judge despatched a company of soldiers to arrest four priests, all of whom, however, by the help of God, happily escaped, although still in great danger. Meanwhile he ordered certain houses, in which religious meetings were held, to be closed and sealed up; a fine of four hundred merks being fixed as a penalty for the celebration of Mass there in future. We do not complain of the highest authorities of the realm, whose moderation, on the contrary, we gratefully acknowledge, for they always profess themselves unwilling to persecute anyone for the sake of religion. Their indulgence, however, profits us but little, since the inferior officials, and even the common soldiers, do not cease to harass us. Nor assuredly can we look for peace so long as our persecutors have hope of reward."—*Report of Bishops Macdonald and Smith to Propaganda:* Edinburgh, 1st November 1753. (*Cf.* Bellesheim, iv. 405.)

1755

Bishop Macdonald met with new trouble this year that obliged him to leave the Highlands, and be absent for a long time from his flock. It originated in the following manner:—

When Mr Alan Macdonald was made prisoner in the year 1746, he had in his custody forty-seven guineas; and that he might not lose them, he entrusted them to Mr Macdonald of Knock, in the Uist, whom he considered a friend. He promised to restore them on demand to himself, or anyone authorised by him to receive them. Mr Alan, who was now in Rome, gave a commission to Bishop Macdonald to receive the money. This the Bishop notified to Macdonald of Knock, but he, instead of restoring it, lodged an information against the Bishop that he was a Popish priest, and liable to the penal laws. In consequence of this, the Bishop was apprehended at Edinburgh, and examined before the Lord Justice Clerk; where he answered with great propriety and firmness, without denying that he was a Bishop, and without acknowledging anything that could be prejudicial to him. He was set at liberty on bail, upon the condition that he should stay at Dunse, Merse, or within four miles of it until he should be called. They did call him to Edinburgh in November; but his trial came not until the January following. . . .[1]

[1] Bishop Hugh Macdonald was in November 1755 apprehended by the agents of the Government, and only released from prison on giving bail for a heavy sum. Early in 1756 his trial came on before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh; and he was sentenced to banishment for life, under pain of death if he presumed to return to Scotland. His captor was rewarded. *Cf.* a contemporary report of the trial, *Scots Magazine*, February 1756. See also the *Report*, quoted by Bellesheim, iv. 392.

THE OLD TOLBOOTH, EDINBURGH.

From a Water Colour Drawing by W. D. Kerr.

1756

Early in the year, Bishop Macdonald's trial came on before the Justiciary Court in Edinburgh, on the indictment of his being by habit and repute a Popish priest. It was easily proved that he was reckoned a Bishop, but they could not say that they heard him called a priest. Hence his advocates pleaded that the laws against priests could not affect him; and there were no direct laws against Bishops. This difficulty occasioned a demur. However, in the end, by direction from London, the sentence of banishment was pronounced against him in the month of March. Instead of leaving the country, he changed his name, first to Mackenzie, then to Scott, and retired to the north. He made Shenvale in Banffshire his ordinary residence for four years with Mr Brockie, and three with Mr John Geddes, who were missioners there. In the summer, he was wont to visit his vicariate; and he often spent a part of the winter at Auchientoul with Mr Gordon of Dorlethers. Government knew well where he was, but winked at it.[1]

Mr Alexander Macdonald, after having laboured in the Missions with much zeal and activity, was apprehended, kept in prison for the space of nine months, and died piously this year.[2]

Though Cardinal Spinelli was anxious to a high degree about the welfare of the Scots Mission, and looked upon the existence of seminaries there as essentially needful, he was not able to get any considerable funds appropriated to that most useful purpose. Of this we shall speak more hereafter.

[1] *Reports of the Bishops to Rome*, Bellesheim, iv. 144.
[2] Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, p. 336.

The Highlands were in a deplorable state for want of missioners. Bishop Macdonald earnestly entreated the Roman agent to prevail on some worthy Irish friars to take pity on the poor Catholics there, and go to succour them, assuring them of all the kindness in his power to show them; and that he was assured from high authority they would meet with no trouble from the civil power, not being natives. Mr Grant, after using all his interest, could get none of these Fathers to accept of the offer; and the Highlands continued as yet for a long time in a wretched state in this respect.

Neither were the Lowlands in a much better situation. For this reason Bishop Grant was obliged to continue with his former charge at Preshome; and therefore could not give that assistance to Bishop Smith of which he so much stood in need. Neither could Mr Duthie be spared from the small seminary at Scalan, to fill the place of prefect of studies at Paris, to which he had been appointed on the death of Mr Innes, the principal.

1757

The College at Paris could not any longer go on to any good purpose without a prefect of studies. Mr Gordon the principal, and Mr Ruddock the procurator, were the only two clergymen there, and in one way or other found employment enough in discharging their proper offices. Hence it was found requisite, with all the scarcity of missioners, to send Mr Duthie there. The Bishops, as usual, wrote to

Propaganda, but not having copies of their letters, I can say no more about them.

1758

No documents are in my custody directly regarding the Mission for this year.

1759

Our College at Rome sent to the Mission this spring, Messrs George Hay, John Geddes, and William Guthrie, three excellent missioners, and of whom there was great need. Many places by death and otherwise were left destitute of spiritual assistance. Mr Brockie at Shenvale died; his place was filled by Mr John Geddes. Glenlivet was well supplied with Mr Guthrie, and Bishop Grant was finally relieved of his charge at Preshome by Mr George Hay. Bishop Macdonald was still obliged to absent himself from the Highlands, where, should he appear, his enemies were resolved to apprehend him. This was hurtful to his charge, and was attended with many inconveniences. He was well advanced in years, and his constitution was greatly hurt, and his health impaired, both by the fatigues he had undergone in the discharge of his duty, and the hardships he had experienced from Government. These considerations induced him to petition for a coadjutor. Spinelli readily consented to his request, and desired him the following year to propose the person he thought most proper for the office.

For the last two or three years the Catholics in the Lowlands enjoyed peace; nor were they much harassed in the Highlands. Bishop Macdonald, it would appear, was the only clergyman still exposed to persecution or trouble from Protestants in that district. . . .

Mr Thompson's *Annals* end at the year 1760.

Notes and Minutes for the Memoirs of the Mission gathered by Abbé Macpherson.[1]

Minutes for 1762

Though it was not entirely safe for Bishop Macdonald to reside in the West Highlands, yet the scarcity of missioners there was so great that he determined to remain among them, and give all the assistance in his power, be the risk never so great. Bishop Macdonald not being able to give an exact numeration of Catholics in his vicariate, wrote that as near as he could judge, there were 12,000. Bishop Smith gave a specific account of the number of Catholics in the Lowland vicariate, as well as of his clergy. It is as follows:—

[1] Thompson's account goes as far as 1760. Then follows notes and minutes for the Memoirs of the Mission (1761-1787) by the Abbé Macpherson.

These notes were probably written during the French Revolution after 1789, and the facts seem to have been gathered from eye-witnesses.

The Rev. Paul Macpherson was sent to Rome in 1793 as agent for the Scottish clergy, and for many years transacted the ecclesiastical business of the Mission.

He was mainly instrumental in securing the most valuable of the Stuart papers for the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. (Cf. *Quarterly Review*, 1846.)

1763

	Extent.	Pastors.	Catholic Communicants.
Edinburgh . . .	20 miles	Mr Alexander Gordon. .	180
Item	...	Mr Joseph Duguid, Jesuit*	130
Nithsdale . . .	15 miles	Mr George Maxwell, Jesuit	253
Galloway . . .	12 „	Mr John Fraser, S.J. . .	132
Traquair . . .	...	Mr Charles Cruikshank .	17
Fife and Angus . .	30 miles	Mr Robert Grant. . .	59
Perth, Stobhall, etc. .	10 „	Mr G. Gordon . . .	157
Drummond, Glasgow, etc.	40 „	Mr Alexander Godsman .	84
Aberdeen . . .	18 „	Mr George Gordon . .	125
Item	...	Mr William M'Leod, S.J. .	135
Glenlivet . . .	10 miles	Mr Guthrie	1100
Buchan . . .	30 „	Mr Alexander Duguid * .	140
Enzie	6 „	Mr G. Hay	900
Beauly. . . .	6 „	Mr J. Godsman . . .	708
Strathairn . . .	...	Destitute of a Missionary .	800
Strathisla . . .	...	In like state. . . .	159
Deeside . . .	18 miles	Mr William Grant, S.J. .	170
Mortlach . . .	8 „	Mr William Reid. . .	430
Huntly . . .	10 „	Mr William Duthie . .	350
Cabrach . . .	18 „	Mr A. Menzies, O.S.B.. .	250
		Total . .	6299†

* For Alexander Duguid and Joseph Duguid, brothers and Jesuits, see *Foley Records*, vii. (i.) 214.
† The total comes to 6279. In J. F. S. Gordon, *Cath. Ch. in Scotland*, p. 636, the numbers differ slightly.

Hence the number of missioners in all the Lowland district was eighteen. Of these, eleven were secular clergy, six Jesuits, and one Benedictine monk. The amount of Catholics fit for Communion, 6299. The expedition of Prince Charles had greatly lessened the number of Catholics in Scotland. From good authority we have it that 1000 were either killed, banished, or fled the country on that occasion.[1] The bloody war

[1] General Susanne, in his History of French Infantry, calculated that "25,000 Irish, English, and Scottish Catholics followed James II. to France." They served with distinction in the French army, and became so reduced in 1715 that their numbers were barely sufficient to form five scanty regiments of a single battalion. Susanne, *Histoire de l'Infanterie*, vol. i., p. 273.

carried on between France and Britain in 1756 destroyed a considerable number of Catholics. Mr Grant, in a paper he gave to Propaganda this year, says, "Six or seven thousand Scots Catholics were in the British Army on this occasion. And as the most of them were sent to America, few returned to Britain." For all the scarcity of labourers, religion was thriving in Scotland.

I shall now give a concise account of the relation sent to Rome of the Highland vicariate. The Missions mentioned are :—

	Missionaries.	Number of Communicants.
Glengarry	Æneas MacGillivray (Gillis)	1,500
Lochaber	...	3,000
Cnoidart	Mr Harrison	800
Moidart	...	700
Arisaig	Mr Alexander MacDonald .	2,000
Strathglass	Jesuit	500
Glenmoriston . . .	...	200
Eigg and Canna . . .	...	400
Uist	Mr Alexander Forrester .	2,000
Barra	...	1,000
Badenoch	...	Few
Gairnside and Braemar .	Jesuits	800
	Total . .	12,700*

* It seems to be 12,900.

Minutes for 1765

This year affairs went much against the Jesuits in France; for by *Arrêts* of the different parliaments, they were expelled from the whole of that monarchy. The Parliament of Douay set the example to the others, and fixed the 1st of April for their departure out of its jurisdiction. This naturally prompted the Bishops of

Scotland to look to the College belonging to the nation in that city, and to take care it should not be lost. They strongly recommended this important affair to Mr Gordon, Principal at Paris, and fixed on Mr Robert Grant as the best qualified person they then had, to be future Superior of that house. Lord Traquair had prevailed on Bishop Smith to allow Mr Grant to accompany his son to France, and take the charge of watching over his education, but with this express condition, in case the Scotch house at Douay could be recovered for the secular clergy. In the meantime, the Jesuits left that place, and Mr Gordon in Paris found little difficulty in obtaining the establishment for the nation. A precedent had taken place with regard to the English house at St Omers, which obviated many difficulties for the Scots at Douay. Mr Robert Grant with much reluctance accepted of the charge, and on his arrival there found matters in a bad situation. Much has been said against the Jesuits for taking off to Dinant, where they settled, all they could remove from Douay. I cannot see how such complaints are well founded. I have not sufficient documents to give an exact account of the state of the house on this occasion, nor of the regulations formed for its administration.

Though persecution had considerably abated in the Highlands, it was not yet quite extinct. A remarkable instance of this appeared at the term of Martinmas this year. The factor on a forfeited estate was prevailed on by the Presbyterian ministers to force the Catholics on those estates either to renounce their religion or leave their possessions. The alternative was given them, and to their honour, though they did not know where they could go, they were expelled from their settlements; and though they had but few opportunities for many years

of being well instructed in their religion, on account of the scarcity of missionaries, they boldly protested to a man that no consideration would ever make them abandon their faith. By interest made with the Government, who never approved of such persecutions, matters were accommodated; and the factor did not proceed to such general violence.

1771

We must now mention more circumstantially the persecution kindled in the Highlands against the Catholics. This originated first in South Uist by the inimical dispositions of MacDonald of Boisdale to the Catholic religion, in which he himself was baptised, and for some years educated. From Uist it spread to other islands, where he had influence. In Uist he has a considerable property of his own, besides much land, which he holds of MacDonald of Clanranald, and all the inhabitants in both islands are Catholics. The first symptom he gave of persecution was against the young children of some Catholic farmers near his own dwelling, who, on his invitation, willingly frequented the school of a pedagogue he had got for the education of his own family. At his desire, the school-master spoke horrid and blasphemous things in the presence of those children against the Catholic religion, and to such of them as were learning to write, he gave copies equally shocking. He proceeded further. In Lent, when such of them as were come to any years would not eat flesh-meat, he caused it to be forced down their throats, after having otherwise barbarously abused them. He likewise endeavoured to corrupt their common Christian morals.

The astonished parents heard this with indignation. They remonstrated with Boisdale on the subject, and received no other satisfaction, but that they, as well as their children, were to abandon their religion or leave his lands. Immediately after this, he called a meeting of all his Catholic tenants, and told them that he had come to a final determination. This was that everyone of them should subscribe a paper which he was about to read to them in their own language, or leave his estate. In this paper was contained a formal renunciation of their religion. To a man they refused to sign this infamous paper, and prepared to leave their lands.

He did not expect such constancy, and afraid lest his lands should remain without tenants, he relented a little, and renewed their leases without any conditions for another year, in which time he oppressed them so much, that from opulent circumstances in their station, he reduced them to beggary; and seeing now they had nothing wherewith to remove from that unhappy island, he this year renewed his persecution with more violence than ever. His wrath was particularly directed against the Catholics on his own estate, and against the missioners, whom he threatened with everything that was bad, if they dared to approach his jurisdiction. Except where necessity called them, they kept at a distance till the storm should subside.

But finding there was no end of the misery, they resolved to provide for the poor sufferers. Glenaladale had already bought lands in the island of St John at the mouth of the river St Lawrence, having sold his own estate in the Highlands. It was resolved to send all these Catholics there, if money for their exportation, and for purchasing the necessary utensils could be

provided. Mr Hay drew up an account of the whole persecution by way of a memorial,[1] and sent it to Bishop Challoner, who caused it to be published, and distributed among the Catholics, begging their assistance. A liberal contribution was made, and the Uist Catholics in Boisdale's lands, with many more from that and other islands, emigrated. Mr James MacDonald accompanied them as missionary.

Dr Campbell, Principal of the Marischal College in Aberdeen, so much renowned for his learning, and particularly for his work on Miracles against Hume, published at this time a sermon against the Catholics, which he had just preached before the Aberdeen Synod. This sermon, on account of the reputation of the author and the apparent reasoning in it, covered with a fine style, was doing hurt. Bishop Hay thought it necessary to write against it, which he did under a borrowed name; and entitled his pamphlet "Detection."[2]

1772

. . . Bishop Hay's "Detection" had made some noise in the country. A nonjurant minister, one Dr Abernethy Drummond, wrote against it and the Catholic religion in the periodical papers, and Bishop Hay replied. Hence

[1] *Memorial for the suffering Catholics in a violent Persecution for religion, at present carried on in one of the western islands of Scotland.*" It is subscribed: "George of Daulis, Coadjutor, Edinburgh, 27th November 1771."

[2] "A Detection of the Dangerous Tendency . . . of a Sermon . . . by G. C., D.D. . . . By a member of the Aletheian Club," London, 1771, 8vo; in reply to "The Spirit of the Gospel, etc." . . . by George Campbell. Dr Campbell, who was Principal of Marischal College from 1759-1792, appears later to have become more tolerant to Catholics, Cf. *infra*, p. 377. In the controversy occasioned by Hay's "Detection," Dr William Abernethy Drummond, Bishop of Edinburgh, took an active part. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxv. 261.

the origin of the dispute between those gentlemen, that afterwards occasioned such disturbances, and caused such a severe persecution against the Catholics, which, however, Almighty God turned to their great advantage.

Boisdale, finding that the Catholics in Uist were so liberally assisted, and so strongly protected, finding also that numbers of them were leaving his lands, and dreading that others would follow their example, began to relent, and even to favour them in a particular manner. He entreated and begged of such as remained not to abandon the country, and gave them every assurance of not being molested in their religion for the future, and that they should have their possessions much below what they had hitherto paid for them.

Not only the consideration of his own private advantage had influenced him thus to alter his mind, but likewise the clamour of all his neighbours, most of whom highly disapproved from the beginning of his barbarous conduct to Catholics, and now feared, lest through want of people caused by the numerous emigrations, the consequences might affect their own landed property. The Government, too, who always drew a great number of brave men for the land and sea service from these countries, was highly displeased at Boisdale's persecution.

A meeting was held this year at Preshome according to custom. Bishop Hugh Macdonald was in such a weak state of health that he could not attend, which was a sensible mortification to all his colleagues. Letters as usual were sent from this meeting to Rome. Bishop Hay, while in France, made a considerable purchase of books necessary or useful to missionaries. They were seized at the Custom House in Scotland, and almost all committed to the flames. This was a sensible

loss. The situation of missions, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, was hard for want of missionaries. For the Highlands, the old missionaries were so overpowered with labour that they quite failed. In the Lowlands, Drummond, Angus, etc., were quite destitute.

Minutes for 1773

Last year's crop having failed, and as a natural consequence of it the cattle being greatly destroyed for want of provender, the poor people were in the greatest distress. The failure of the famous Bank of Ayr, and in consequence, of many other banking companies, increased their misery, and reduced the country to a deplorable situation. The doctors and clergy felt the distress doubly, by bearing an equal share of the physical calamity, and through the pain occasioned to them by the sufferings of their poor people, whom it was not in their power to relieve.

Mr Hay turned himself whithersoever he could expect help. He, in conjunction with Bishop Grant, wrote an ostensible[1] pathetic letter to his agent at Rome, imploring some relief for their miseries. Mr Grant made all the use he could of this letter, but it had no good effect. Mr Geddes in Spain was also entreated to use his efforts to the same end. This he did, but all he got was fair promises.

The emigrants to St John's Island were in great misery, and in want of every necessary of life. The island, at least such part of it as fell to their lot, was quite uncultivated, and covered over with wood. To clear the ground, and improve the land, was an affair that necessarily required more time than their poor

[1] An open letter, that could be shown to the authorities concerned.

circumstances could afford. Before they were half-way in their work the provisions of meat, clothes, and instruments they had laid up were exhausted, and every article at that time and in that place cost them three times its value. This did not deter some of their countrymen from following them. They did not at once feel want in those parts; and they thought nothing could equal their present misery in their own country. From Glengarry and its neighbourhood a considerable emigration took place.

Minutes for 1778

This year matters of great importance were carried on in Great Britain. Nothing less than the repeal of the penal laws against Catholics of those two kingdoms was agitated. As this affair, which even then succeeded to a considerable degree in England, and after some years likewise took place in Scotland, originated first in the latter country, I shall here give a brief account of it. And as I cannot do this better than in Bishop Hay's own words, who was so active an agent in it, I shall set down a copy of his letter to Mr Grant on that subject.[1] "Scalan,

[1] George Hay was born of Protestant parents on the 24th of August 1729. He studied medicine in the Edinburgh Medical School, and when, after the victory at Prestonpans, Charles Edward sent to Edinburgh to procure surgical assistance, George Hay hurried to the battlefield. For four months he followed the Prince's fortunes; but prostrated by illness he was forced to return to Edinburgh. After Culloden, Hay was arrested on a charge of taking part in the rebellion, and imprisoned in London. Before his return to Scotland, he made the acquaintance of a Catholic bookseller named Meighan, and through him acquired a knowledge of Catholic doctrine, and on the 21st of December 1748, not long after his return to Scotland, he made his profession of the Catholic faith at the hands of Father John Seton, of the Society of Jesus. Shortly after he formed the acquaintance of Bishop Challoner, who recognising the unusual gifts of the young physician, inspired him with the idea of devoting himself to

24th July 1778.—Dear Sir, by what you wrote me in answer to mine from London, I see the information you have got of our public affairs was but imperfect, and as none can give you a more exact account of them than I, I shall here give you one you can depend upon. Sir John Dalrymple,[1] Baron of the Exchequer, some years ago, being in Paris, contracted a friendship with our present Principal, which was renewed since Mr Gordon came home to the Mission.

"Sir John is a man of an exeedingly good heart, and friendly, lately made one of the Barons of Exchequer, and a great favourite at Court. He was the first who suggested to the Ministry the plan of raising some Catholic regiments in Ireland. He also was the author of that other plan of restoring the forfeited estates to their ancient owners, in which great progress would have been made by this time had not the American War put a stop to it.

"Encouraged by the success of these plans, he wished something could be got done for the Roman Catholics of his own country. With this view, after Burgoyne's defeat, and the fear of a French war, which made it

theological studies. Hay made his way to Rome, where he was ordained priest on the 2nd of April 1758, and on Trinity Sunday, 21st of May 1769, he received the episcopal consecration at Scalan.

There is a very interesting memoir of Dr George Hay in the preface to the *Sincere Christian*, 2 vols., published in 1843 by Thomas Richardson & Son.

The *Catholic Directory* for 1842 also contains an interesting biographical memoir. It is abridged from his life by Rev. Alexander Cameron, Rector of the Scotch College at Valladolid.

[1] Sir John Dalrymple, fourth baronet of Cranstoun, born in 1726, became baronet on the 26th of February 1771, and was made Baron of the Exchequer in 1776, an office he held till 1807. He died on the 26th of February 1810. His "Memoirs . . . etc.," 3 vols., 1771, are said to owe much to the "Hardwicke Papers," which he consulted at the Scots College at Paris.

necessary that all parties should unite in the common cause of their country, he wrote to his friend, the Principal, and to Lord Linton,[1] to know the disposition of the Catholics in Scotland, and giving them hopes of something being done in their favour. They both wrote to me on the affair; and soon after the Principal came to town, and made Sir John and me acquainted. We had several conversations on the matter, the result of which Sir John desired me to write in a letter to himself.

"The chief points were how the Catholics in Scotland stood affected towards the American Rebellion. How far they would be willing to engage in Government service if required, and what terms they would expect by doing so. My answers were such as truth required; but, withal, I told him that our numbers and property being so small, little could be done to purpose by us, unless our brethren in England were joined in the business.

"Soon after this, Sir John went to London, from whence he wrote me that my letter had given great satisfaction to the Ministry; that he was encouraged to go on, and wanted a letter from me to introduce him to Bishop Challoner's acquaintance for his advice and concurrence in the affair. This was accordingly done, and through this channel Sir John was made acquainted with some of the English nobility and gentry then at London. They all received his project with joy and approbation, and constituted a committee of their

[1] Baron Linton was a secondary title of the Earls of Traquair, and will have been borne in the year 1778 by Charles, eldest son of John, 6th Earl of Traquair (died 22nd of March 1779). Therefore the Earl of Traquair, whom we shall meet with in the minutes for 1779, will be the above Lord Linton, who has meanwhile succeeded to the earldom. (*Cf.* Burke, *Dormant . . . Peerages*, 1883, p. 519.)

number to transact the affair in the name of all the rest with the Ministry.

"The first step judged necessary was to present the address to the King, which you saw, and which gave his Majesty very great satisfaction. Circular letters were sent by the Committee to all the nobility and gentry in England, who either came up themselves on the day appointed, and signed the address, or did it by proxy. But as there was not time to get all advised in Scotland, Lord Linton went up express in the name of all the rest, and took me with him.

"At first the great fear was of meeting with opposition from the Ministry; but that fear was soon dispelled, and several circumstances providentially occurred that made them our best friends. Many of that party had great estates and connections in Ireland, and from motives of humanity wished to see the miseries of the poor Irish alleviated, but which could not be done without giving an example in Britain.

"The Congress had given an intimation to all Catholics to go and settle in America; which made it necessary to encourage them to stay at home, by alleviating their miseries. The fear of a French (invasion), added to an American War, required that every step should be taken to suit all parties at home for the common good. Finally, the Dissenters in England, who have been long struggling for more civil liberty, took it strongly into their heads that if they would support the Catholics on this occasion, the Catholics would support them again; and the liberty they wished for, if the Catholics succeeded, could with less propriety be denied them.

"From the above motives the whole Ministry to a man became friends to our cause; and some of the

principal men amongst them undertook the conduct of it; and as we were sure of the Ministry, whose affair it was, it was carried in both houses without one dissenting voice. The address met with universal approbation and applause from all ranks of people, and the next step judged necessary to be taken was to bring in a bill to Parliament for the Indulgences we wished to have; and we were admonished to be moderate in our demands for fear of what might happen, with the full assurance that if the first favour was easily secured, and went down with the nation, it would be a prelude to grant all the rest in due time.

"Till this period the Committee had shown the greatest friendship and regard for Sir John and Lord Linton. But seeing the address so well received, they became shy and cold and uncommunicative of their affairs; so that it was with great difficulty we could get out at last what demand they were resolved to make; which was a repeal of an Act of the English Parliament under King William, which chiefly affected the property of Roman Catholics, and encourged the persecution of the clergy, by assigning a reward to the informer. As there is just such another Act of the Scottish Parliament under the same reign, we thought we could not do better than ask a repeal of it; and being desirous of going hand in hand with the English in every step, we proposed that both repeals should go on together in the same Bill.

"This the Committee absolutely refused, and assigning apparent reasons for their refusal, which we afterwards found to be insufficient and false, they resolved to carry on their own bill alone, and left us to shift for ourselves. This you may be sure was not agreeable; especially as Lord Linton and I had few or none to

adjoin with there; and our good friend Sir John was under the necessity of leaving London about that time. However, by his advice, Lord Linton applied to the Lord Advocate for Scotland,[1] who most cheerfully and readily undertook to carry through our Bill, looking upon it as a national cause.

"The sessions were now drawing towards a close, and it was feared that in case of opposition there would not be time to finish the affair. The General Assembly was then sitting down, and if that body should take it into their heads to remonstrate against us, it would occasion difficulties. It was therefore thought advisable to defer the Scots Bill till next session of Parliament, and let the English one go on alone; and the Lord Advocate pledged his honour to us that whatever favour should then be granted to the English, he should take care that the same should afterwards be granted to us. The English have accordingly got the repeal they wanted, with the unanimous consent of both houses, and the general approbation of the whole nation; and we will get the same next winter." So far Bishop Hay in his own words.

Bishop Hay and the Catholics were much deceived in their expectations. A paper war had been carried on between Bishop Hay and Dr Abernethy Drummond ever since the former wrote his "Detection." The Parson observed no moderation in his abusive language and calumnies against Catholics. Perhaps, too, posterity may think Bishop Hay defended the good cause with a warmth that could do it no service. However this may be, it is very certain that the dispute was attended with bad consequences, for the present, to the Catholics. The minds of the people, already too much prejudiced

[1] The Lord Advocate for Scotland at this time was Henry Dundas, later (1802) first Viscount Melville.

against them, were inflamed beyond measure by Abernethy's ill-natured pamphlets.

Though the General Assembly took no notice of the Bill just brought into Parliament in favour of the English Catholics, at the time of its sitting down, soon thereafter different Synods in Glasgow, Perth, Dundee, etc., came to violent resolutions on the subject; and among others to petition Parliament against indulgence being granted to Scots Catholics, and to write the Lord Advocate to that purpose. All the Presbyterian pulpits in the above cities sounded with the cry against Papists, and soon communicated their frenzy to all the Synods and Presbyteries of Scotland. The only ones that behaved decently and with moderation were those of Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

In Glasgow they did not content themselves with words alone; they proceeded to action. On a Sunday when the few Catholics then in that city had assembled in the house of one Mr Bagnall, an earthenware manufacturer, to hear Mass, they were assaulted by the mob, the windows all broke down, and the door forced. Mr Robert Menzies, who had gone from Edinburgh to say Mass for them, had enough ado to secure the vestments and sacred utensils before the mob broke in among them, and save himself thereafter by uniting in the common cry, "Where is the Priest?"

The newspapers in every city were filled with the most inflammatory calumnies against the Catholics, scraping together all the lies spoken against them, as well in old as in latter times. In every town associations were formed, committees appointed, and subscriptions made, to oppose the Bill in favour of Scots Catholics. This gave unspeakable distress to the Bishops, Clergy, and Scots Catholics in general.

Minutes for 1779

About the beginning of the session of Parliament, it was judged proper that Bishop Hay and Lord Traquair should go up to London in order to conduct the Bill promised to the Scots Catholics. But on their arrival there, they found the Ministry so intimidated by the violent opposition made to that measure by the people in Scotland, that their hope of success began to abate greatly. The great source of opposition to the Indulgence prayed for was centred in the old Presbyterian parsons and Dr Abernethy Drummond. The nobility and people of fashion were always favourable to the measure. The lower order of society were those principally blinded by the violent declamations and vile calumnies of those parsons. Some even of the Presbyterian ministers wrote pamphlets in favour of that measure.

A paper entitled "The Anticipation," wherein the hottest opposers of the Bill were personated as speaking in the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, ridiculed those bigots, and exposed them to universal contempt. A Presbyterian minister was the author of it. Another paper appeared, ridiculing with great humour the numerous associations for opposing the Bill. Hugo Arnot, the famous author of the "History of Edinburgh," was supposed to have published it. Dr Robertson[1] was decidedly in favour of the Catholics. His authority in the Kirk of Scotland was great, yet not sufficient to stem the torrent of wild fanaticism that had seized the minds of the rabble. They, perceiving the Ministry were become timid, gathered new fire and

[1] Dr William Robertson, historian, author of "Charles V.," Moderator of the General Assembly (cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xlviii. 428).

courage to go on in their designs. They even threatened an open rebellion, in case Government should dare to grant any indulgence to the Catholics. In the beginning of the year, they published and cried through the streets of Edinburgh, handbills containing the most frightful threats against all Papists. Thus they continued till about the end of January, when other billets were dispersed among the people, making appointments to put their menaces in execution.

By the 1st of February, the whole city roared with "Knock down, kill, burn the Papists." The Magistrates were called on to protect those innocent people by exerting the authority with which they were entrusted, and suppressing such unbecoming and dangerous tumults. But the Magistrates contented themselves with giving fair words, and assuring the Catholics they would suffer no harm. The Catholics foolishly relied on such promises, evidently absurd when no measures were taken to fulfil them, and seemed only to have been given as a snare to put them off their guard, and expose them to a surprise that would totally ruin them.

Bishop Hay had been informed of what was going on, and he judged it proper to leave London, and return to Edinburgh to exert himself on behalf of his people, or to suffer along with them. But before he arrived, the evil was too far gone to admit of a remedy. On the 2nd of February, the mob began to gather about mid-day round the new chapel,[1] which, though inhabited as to the dwelling-part, was not hitherto, for prudential motives, opened. Every moment the mob thickened. The assistance of the Civil Magistrates was called in vain. The Lord Provost, of the name of Hamilton, viewed all with cool indifference.

[1] In Chalmers' Close, near Leith Wynd.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the riot began. All the windows of the whole house were broken in pieces. Messrs Cameron and Mathison, the last of whom lately arrived from Spain to the Mission, were in the house just at their dinner. They found it prudent to escape without a moment's delay, out at a back door. The servants secured some of the altar things before the mob could force the doors, which in a short time they did, and began by breaking down presses, drawers, beds, etc., everyone carrying off what he could.

This scene continued till about five or six o'clock, when the universal cry was to set fire to the whole house. Combustibles were soon procured, and in a short time the whole house was in a flame. A poor cat, the only living creature that did not make its escape in time, now when it felt the fire, endeavoured to save itself. The cruel rabble threw it back in the flames, because it was a Popish cat, and wished to have Bishop Hay, to serve him in the same manner.

This good man had just then arrived in town, not dreaming of any such danger. With his saddle-bags on his arm, he went from the inn at which the carriage stopped towards his own house; and was surprised to meet with such crowds of people, as he approached towards it. And as they always increased the nearer he was to it, he enquired of an old woman what was going on. "O sir," said she, "we are burning the Popish chapel, and wish we had their Bishop to help the bonfire." The Bishop thought it was high time to direct his course another way.

From thence the mob went to Blackfriars Wynd, but as that house could not be set on fire without endangering a great part of the city, they contented themselves with breaking the doors and furniture, and

robbing it as much as they could. Parties of them went to the houses of the principal Catholic families, where they also broke and robbed many things. On the next morning, remembering there was yet something to be done in Blackfriars Wynd, they returned thither, carried off almost all the valuable collection of books kept there, with every other thing that could be of use. By a particular favour of God, the bishops, clergymen, and Catholics were all safe as to their persons. None, however, dared to appear in the streets for many days.

Scarcely was this barbarous scene acted, when intelligence came from Glasgow that a riot had likewise happened there wherein Catholics suffered much. This was a new source of distress and affliction to the compassionate heart of good Bishop Hay. He, however, bore all with Christian fortitude and resignation, trusting in the divine Mercy that from the present evils good would flow.

There was much cause to fear that every other town in Scotland, where there were Catholics, would follow the example of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The Magistrates of Aberdeen exerted all their abilities to counteract the seditious discourses of the bigoted seceders and their sectaries. Even Principal Campbell[1] stood forth on this occasion in favour of Catholics, and published a pamphlet, wherein he severely censured the behaviour of the Protestants in Edinburgh and Glasgow, as seditious and anti-Christian. A sermon much to the same purpose was preached before the Aberdeen Synod, and afterwards published. By such means, and the vigorous exertions of the Civil Magistrate, no tumults against Catholics happened in Aberdeen.

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 364.

In Perth, the Catholics were few and little known; but within eight miles of it, viz., Stobhall, there was a new establishment made for a Churchman, after the death of the Catholic Duchess of Perth, which happened a few years before, and with whom till then the missionary lived, and served the Catholics in the neighbourhood. At her decease, Bishop Hay obtained a small farm from the commissioners on the forfeited estates, and placed Mr William Hay there. The good Protestants of Perth, who never had been behindhand with their countrymen in persecuting the Catholics until now, were ashamed of the little zeal they had shown on the occasion for John Knox's religion, and were determined to make up for it.

A day was appointed to destroy the said settlement at Stobhall. But the gentlemen in the country, getting notice of it, used every influence to prevent it, and even sent some of their servants, well armed, to defend the effects on that farm, and gave orders to repel force by force. Yet a considerable number of journeymen and apprentices assembled in Perth, and marched towards the place. They, learning of the preparations made, and hearing the report of firearms, thought it more prudent to retire.

By the burning of the new house in Edinburgh, the damage done to the old one in Blackfriars Wynd, the loss of books, clothes, etc., it was estimated that the value of three thousand pounds had been destroyed, besides the losses of the Catholic laity. Bishop Hay represented this to the Magistrates, and demanded indemnification. To this demand, however just, he only got an insulting answer. He therefore, by the advice of his friends, Protestants and Catholics, posted back to London, where he managed matters so well,

that the whole amount of all the losses sustained was paid him. This was principally laid on the city, and part was given him by the King.

The Magistrates, being obliged to pay the money ordered by Parliament, were also required, by the same authority, to repair the damage done to the house in Blackfriars Wynd. Bishop Hay and the Catholics found that it was impossible to carry the intended Bill during such a ferment, and therefore on his arrival in London, he told the Ministry that he had no intention of pursuing it farther, and was willing, with all the Catholics in Scotland, to lie under such cruel oppressions as they had lately suffered, rather than expose their country to the most (*sic*) danger of insurrections and rebellions. This was extremely (agreeable?) to the Ministry, and made them the more ready to make up for the losses the Scots Catholics had sustained. Bishop Hay sent from London a pastoral letter to his flock, recommending patience under their sufferings, and conformity to the will of God.

However satisfied the Catholics were with the liberality of Government in making up their present losses, they apprehended similar distresses in future; and terrified with such thoughts, they asked protection from Government against such assaults. This was an inconsiderate demand, for how could Government give them protection as long as the penal laws existed? And the Catholics themselves had agreed that it was not safe for Government to abolish them, in the existing circumstances. They had already received the most effectual protection that Government could possibly give, while the laws against them existed, by obliging the cities to make good the damages they had suffered, which would make magistrates, for their own advantage,

protect them with all their power, in any future tumults.

1780

Lord George Gordon, brother to the Duke, with his numerous associations in Scotland and England, occasioned great disturbances and riots in London on account of the Bill passed last year in favour of the English Catholics. The most audacious attempts were made to ruin the nation. The firmness and vigour of Government at last reduced all to order. Many hundreds of the rioters were killed during the time of the tumult by the cavalry, and a considerable number were executed after they were apprehended. Lord George was confined to the Tower, and indicted of high treason. From it he was absolved, but for other crimes condemned to confinement for a time. After a second offence he was imprisoned again, till he should find very heavy bail. This he never did, and died last year,[1] still in Newgate. The Catholics in London, as also some Protestants, had much of their property destroyed by the mob, but the Government made the city refund them in all their damages. The Catholics in Scotland were not without fear of new tumults against them. But the Magistrates were active, not choosing to expose the cities to make up the damages a second time, nor themselves to the hatred of good men. They took such measures as effectually prevented any persecution of Catholics in that country.

[1] Lord George Gordon died 1st November 1793 in Newgate, having been recommitted to prison in 1788. He had by then turned Jew. The mention of "last year" gives us the date at which the above history was concluded.

Bishop Hay's *Pastoral Letter*[1] *of 8th February* 1779.

To all the Faithful, both Clergy and Laity, under our Charge, Health and Benediction from our Lord.

Dearly Beloved in our Lord,

As you will no doubt be alarmed on seeing in the public papers what has just now happened in Edinburgh against our friends there, we think it our duty to administer to you both advice and consolation, as the circumstances permit, and the occasion seems to require. . . .

For some time past, but especially since the middle of January, our friends in Edinburgh had been frequently alarmed with threats of destruction from the mob, sometimes by word of mouth, sometimes by incendiary papers dropt in different parts of the city, and sometimes even by threatening letters sent to their own houses; and on Tuesday, the 2nd instant, these threats were effectually put in execution. The mob assembled that day with great fury, attacked the houses possessed by both our clergymen in Edinburgh, burnt the one lately built, with all its contents, to the ground, and pillaged and destroyed the other. Then they attacked the shops and houses of some others of our people, which they treated in the same manner, and threatened the same destruction to all the rest. . . .

Though we cannot help being deeply afflicted for these sufferings of our dear people, and for the interruption of the exercises of our holy religion, yet, confiding in the arm of the Most High, we hope for a speedy relief from His infinite goodness. We, therefore, earnestly beseech you all not to be discouraged

[1] The letter appeared in the *Scots Magazine* for February 1779.

under the afflicting hand of God, but to put your trust in His all-powerful goodness, Who when He is angry remembers mercy, and when He chastises us as children for our sins, intends at the same time our greater advancement in virtue. Let us not fail to co-operate with His Fatherly views, but remember that the time of suffering is the time of trial, the showing our fidelity to God and our sincerity in His service. . . .

It was by persecutions and trials that the greatest saints arrived at their crown, and who knows what the divine goodness may have in store for us. Let us only imitate the sacred examples they have left us amidst their fiery trials; and this persecution, like theirs, shall undoubtedly, through the mercies of God, turn out to His greater glory and our greater good. Above all things, we enjoin you not to allow the smallest resentment to enter your hearts against those who injure us. Remember they are only the instruments in the hands of God, Who like a tender father, chastises us, His children, by their means, but who could not touch a hair of our heads except in as far as they are permitted by Him. In this view, let us have all compassion towards them, and pity their mistaken zeal, which makes them think that, by persecuting us, they do God a service. Let us imitate the example which our Lord gives us on the Cross, and pray for them in His words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they are doing," and let us earnestly beg of Him not to lay their sins to their charge, but, by granting them a sincere repentance, bring them to eternal happiness. It is thus we will show ourselves children of our heavenly Father, and draw down a large benediction on our own souls, according to these comforting words of our Lord: "Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you and

revile you, and say all manner of evil against you, for My name's sake, rejoice and be exceeding glad in that day, for great is your reward in heaven."

May the God of heaven bless you all, and preserve you for ever in the practices of all good, and in the faith and love of our Lord Jesus. Amen.

8*th February* 1779.

Relation of the means by which the repeal of the Penal Laws against the Catholics of Scotland was obtained on the 3rd of June 1793, *by the* Rev. Paul Macpherson (*Blairs College* MSS.).

There were many favourable circumstances that fortunately concurred at the time to render Government, and the nation in general, favourable to the Scotch Catholics. Ever since the severe persecution in 1779, excited by a few ill-designing men, and carried on with great violence by the rabble, of all which a distinct account was sent in due time to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, the Catholic Religion, by the Divine Providence, who knows how to make good rise out of evil, and light out of darkness, was making great progress. The liberal part of the kingdom was perfectly ashamed of the barbarity and wild enthusiasm which had pervaded and blinded the inferior ranks of our countrymen. Even these, when the phrensy began to abate, and cool reflection return, were equally ashamed of what they had done; both by reason of that generous spirit which is so peculiarly characteristic of the British nation, and by reason of the reproaches of cruelty and inhumanity which were liberally heaped upon their

country by neighbouring nations, on account of these tumults.

They therefore began to look askance on what they had done, and to seek, but in vain, for a sufficient reason to excuse a conduct so severe towards Catholics. Their natural generosity and love of justice induced them to make up, by every act of civility, kindness, and protection, for their past injuries. If this was the temper of the lower order of our countrymen, it was fully as much so of the better sort, whose minds were more liberal, and who were better acquainted with the pure principles of the Catholic morality.

I must observe however that, though the abettors of the Church Established by law in Scotland became so favourable, the Catholics had then, as they have even yet, a considerable number of enemies in that country. These are Sectaries who broke off from the Established Church, and are in every respect as intollerant, and as averse to Hierarchy and Monarchy, as the Puritans were under Charles I. These inflamed by their preachers had it not in their nature to repent of anything done against Catholics, and would have proceeded to greater violence, had they not been restrained by the power of civil government.

Such different dispositions in the heretics occasioned constant disputes among themselves about our holy religion. This made those who were favourable, as well as those who were enemies, have recourse to our Catechisms, books of Controversy, etc.; the first to vindicate our innocence, the last for to find matter against us. We have always observed that when a Protestant examined our sacred tenets with a dispassionate mind and unprejudiced, provided his life was anything moral, he never failed to embrace our religion,

if not kept back by worldly considerations; nor could it be otherwise. Hence it may be easily imagined that many converts were made, and that Catholicity propagated fast, when so many examined our dogmas, not only unprejudiced against us, but even much prepossessed in our favour.

The laudable behaviour of our Catholics, their resignation and patience in time of trial, and their modesty and prudence in time of prosperity, served greatly to gain the sympathy and esteem of our adversaries. But what above all acquired us the admiration and affection of every one, was the exemplary and truly apostolic life of our Bishops and clergy.

Monsignor Hay, Bishop of Daulis, our Apostolic Vicar in the Lowlands, is well known to the Sacred Congregation already. His piety and learning, his indefatigable zeal for the welfare of souls, are well seen in his most useful writings, and in all his conduct, since he went first to the Missions. On account of these qualities, and his being the first Ecclesiastical Superior there, naturally drew upon him in a more particular manner the spite and hatred of our enemies in the persecution of 1779. What he suffered on that occasion is already well known to Propaganda. When the storm was over, many prudential considerations induced him to retire from Edinburgh, the capital of the kingdom, where he had resided for many years, and where the good effects of his Apostolic labours will be long felt.

His coadjutor, Monsignor Geddes, Bishop of Marocco, lately returned from Spain, succeeded him. This most pious and learned man (who by his prudence, his engaging manners, and his activity enriched the Missions

of Scotland by the valuable acquisition, which he, assisted by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, made of the fruitful college we now possess at Valladolid in Spain), found himself now in the capital of the kingdom, and in the principal scene of action. He observed the favourable turn which was beginning to take place in our regard, and did not fail to take advantage of it. In his public and private life, by the unaffected exercise of every Christian and social virtue, that can adorn humanity, he soon drew to him the sincere esteem and friendship of every one.

His acquaintance was solicited by the first characters either of learning or birth in the kingdom. He saw the advantages that would accrue to Religion from improving acquaintance of this nature, and therefore, in as far as his Pastoral charge would permit, he cultivated them. In all his intercourses of this kind, he directed his efforts to remove prejudices against our holy Religion, and to point out the absurdity and cruelty of the Penal Code standing against us. In this manner he continued for some years paving the way for the total repeal of those barbarous laws, and succeeded in that purpose to his full wish. The Minister Dundas, the present Chancellor, and other ministerial men had repeatedly assured him that they would seize the first favourable opportunity for annulling those laws.

Nevertheless neither he nor anybody else, who knew the state of the nation, could have the most distant hopes, that the moment, in which God in his mercy had appointed to deliver his Sacred Religion in our country from the yoke of servitude was so near at hand. The situation of the kingdom was such about the end of 1792, and beginning of '93, that no Catholic could have expected any alteration in their favour of the laws.

French principles had gained great influence with the lower class of people, and with the bad of every rank; and Government, however steady it was, had enough ado to guard the Crown and subjects from the machinations of the deceived multitude and their malicious leaders. The making any relaxation of laws in favour of Catholics at such a critical period might be an additional source to those evil-designing men of exclaiming out against Government, and the deluded multitude, as former times had often shown, might soon become as great enemies as ever of Catholics. Government knew that the Scotch Catholics were as well affected to the Crown as they could wish them to be; but their number was so small in comparison of the enemies of order in that part of the British Empire, that their utmost exertions could be but of little avail.

In these circumstances, as if Almighty God wanted to give us a token, at the same time, of his protection and power, which so easily baffles the counsels of men, one of our principal Catholic Gentlemen, who was pretty far advanced in life, and had no children, though married for many years, was called upon towards the end of the year 1792, by his nearest Protestant heir to give him, exclusive of his own sister and other Catholic relations, legal security of succeeding after his death to a very considerable estate, else that he would immediately take the advantage of one of the penal laws against Catholics, which not only gives a title, but even enjoins the nearest Protestant heirs to claim estates in like circumstances.

This Catholic gentleman was Mr George Maxwell of Munches, a person of as fair and unblemished character as was in the kingdom; nor was there a man more esteemed or respected than he in the

province where he lived. He lately departed this life, and is now, as we hope, enjoying the rewards of his virtuous life. This virtuous man did not long hesitate in giving his answer. He saw at once, that, were he to avoid the effects of this penal law by such means as were proposed, there would not be a Catholic of any property in Scotland but would be immediately attacked in the like manner; and if all would avoid persecution in this way, there would not in a few years be any Catholic property in the kingdom. Therefore he resolved to stand out, and defend himself the best he could. In consequence of this, his adversary began immediately to put his menaces in execution, and summoned him to give up his property, or to deny his religion.

Munches posted into Edinburgh, informed Bishop Geddes by word of mouth of his situation; and Bishop Hay, who was then in his seminary at Scalan, was advised of it by letters. It was agreed that, in the first place, a council of the ablest lawyers in the kingdom should be called, and their opinion heard. Munches was acquainted with many of them himself, and Bishop Geddes with them all. They most cheerfully offered their services; and among the rest the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the first crown lawyer in the kingdom. The result of their deliberations was, that they could award[1] the blow for some years by throwing every obstacle that was in their power in his adversary's way; but at long run Munches would necessarily lose his estate; nor could the cause be protracted for any length of time without costing Munches a considerable sum of money; that therefore the best, and indeed the only means they could point

[1] *I.e.*, ward off.

out, by which he might save his estate, was to petition Parliament for a repeal of the penal laws, in as far as they affected property.

The Lord Advocate promised all his influence; nay, even offered, being a member in the House of Commons, to move himself a Bill to this purpose. He renewed all these offers repeatedly to Bishop Geddes, and regretted much that the state of the kingdom was such, as in prudence prevented administration to do away with these penal laws all at once. Though this partial repeal of the penal laws would be a considerable acquisition, yet it nowise answered our wishes; we could not perceive, now that some of them were to be abrogated, what danger there would ensue if the greatest part were destroyed; and our Bishops resolved to push the matter as far as in prudence they could.

There was no time to be lost, the Parliament was already set down, and the business behoved soon to come on. Good Bishop Geddes, though young in years, yet loaded with infirmities, the consequence of his extraordinary exertions in the discharge of his Apostolical duties stood more in need of repose, than of this additional burden of care and labour. But it was a crisis of too great importance to the Catholic religion for him to consult his own welfare in this manner. He saw that the difficulties to be surmounted were great. Secretary Dundas, whose principal province it is to watch over the internal peace of the kingdom, appeared decidedly of opinion that the Catholic Bill should only extend to property. Our Catholic Gentlemen, afraid by asking too much of getting nothing, were against touching any of the penal laws, but such as directly affected their temporal affairs. Yet he did not despair of success.

He spoke to the nobility and Protestant clergy, reasoned the point with every one in Edinburgh, whose interest could be of use; he wrote to his powerful friends in other cities of the kingdom; and had the satisfaction of receiving from every quarter the most flattering promises of support; and was happy to find that almost every Protestant, whom he consulted on the subject, was as little apprehensive of any danger from a more full repeal as he was himself. Bishop Hay was equally active in the northern part of the kingdom, in as far as circumstances would permit.

When matters were thus prepared, Bishop Geddes wrote to Secretary Dundas, the Lord Chancellor, and other friends in the ministry upon the subject, assured them there would be no danger of disturbing the public peace by extending the proposed Bill much farther than was intended. That their minds might be fully satisfied on this head, he begged they would ask the opinion of the magistrates and principal clergymen of every city in Scotland. This idea met with the approbation of Government. The magistrates and most intelligent men of the national clergy were consulted; and their answers, according to their promises of support given to Bishop Geddes, were favourable. This gave the Ministry full courage; they were ready now to go all the length that Bishop Geddes or any prudent man could have proposed.

The only point that remained to be settled was the oath of allegiance to be taken by Catholics. To frame such a new one as would obtain immediately the approbation of every party would have been a dangerous task, and would cause dangerous delays. The last English oath had been already approved of

by all the Catholic Bishops of the British dominions, and we heard that it got the explicit approbation of the Holy See. Hence without hesitation it was adopted. The present Chancellor, Lord Loughborough,[1] and the late one, Lord Thurlow, assisted by the Lord Advocate, to show their regard for the Catholics of Scotland, drew up the Bill; a circumstance which is very extraordinary, as such things are never done by people in their high sphere.

The Bill was proposed in the House of Commons by the Lord Advocate in an able speech, which reflected much honour on the Catholics of Scotland; there was not a member in the House but applauded it. The same was the case in the House of Peers, where it was read by my Lord Kellie, a near relation of Monsignor Erskine, who, when we afterwards thanked him for the friendly part he took in that affair, answered that he was happy in having had the honour of assisting to emancipate from shameful laws such valuable subjects, and that it was an additional pleasure to him to think he had done an agreeable office to his relation in Rome.

After the Bill had thus triumphantly passed both Houses of Parliament, it got the Royal signature on the 3rd of June 1793.

In place of the tumults first apprehended by the ministry, every corner in Scotland resounded with acclamations. Nothing can more display the sense of the nation with regard to this Bill, than the following circumstance. In Britain everybody has a right to fill

[1] Alexander Wedderburn, Baron Loughborough, became Lord Chancellor on the 28th of January 1793. Lord Thurlow held that office from June 1778 to early in 1783; and again after a few months' interruption, from the 23rd of December 1783 until his resignation on the 15th of June 1792.

the newspapers with almost everything he pleases, provided he pays the printer well; and they are ever the vehicles of murmurs and aspersions. When the Catholic Bill was pending in Parliament, the Puritanical Sectaries I mentioned before offered every kind of bribe to the publishers of the newspapers in Scotland, for to insert in them inflammatory libels against the Catholics; but for as many different newspapers as are there published, not one could they get to second their base intentions. In London they succeeded better, but as London papers are not much read by the vulgar in Scotland, there was no mischief apprehended from them.

The above relation was drawn up by me and given in to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in March 1794.

PAUL MACPHERSON.

APPENDIX

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST SCOTTISH CATHOLICS UNDER THE PENAL LAWS

(CONTINUED FROM VOL. I.)

ALEXANDER IRVINE, EXCOMMUNICATE. 20th April 1660.

. . . Compeered Alexander Irvine of Drum, and earnestlie supplicatit thee synod that they would bee pleased to interpose ther authoritie and advyse to thee Presbyterie of Aberdeen to forbear to pronunce their sentence of excommunicati against him for poperie.

(*Selections from Records of the Kirk Session, Aberdeen,* 260.)

ROBERT DOUGLAS. 13th January 1661.

Robert Douglas of Bridgfoord and his servant excommunicated for Poprie. (Thomas Mair, *Records of the Parish of Ellon,* 124.)

LADY MARQUISE OF HUNTLY. 3rd October 1661.

Mr James Chalmers, Commissioner for the Presbytery of Aberdeen, hands in to Privy Council the names of papist delinquents:—Lady Marquise of Huntly, Viscount Frendraught, with his brethren and children. The Lairds of Craig, Balgownie and Pitfodels, the Lairds of Drum, Auchindoir, Monaltrie, Tullos, and Murefield.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 283.)

MARCHIONESS OF HUNTLY AND OTHERS. 3rd October 1661.

The Privy Council is besought to take severe measures against the Marchioness of Huntly and her children, Viscount Frendraught with his family, the Lairds of Gicht, Craig, Balgownie, and Pitfodels, the Lairds of Drum,[1] Auchindoir, Monaltrie, Tullos, and Murefield, who

[1] The Laird of Drum, who had been converted by the Rev. F. Watson (vide *The Presbyterie's Triall,* etc., Paris, 1657), being cited in suspicion of Popery by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, summoned them in return to appear before Colonel Overton, one of the English judges, declaring himself under the Parliament of England, and refusing to acknowledge any other jurisdiction. (Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History,* ii., 429 *note.*)

are charged with the overthrow of religion, . . . and seducing many poor souls. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 283.)

JOHN INGLIS AND WILLIAM BROWN. 1661.

The Council deals with John Inglis and William Brown, who are lodged in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, as "trafficking Papists." Both were sentenced to be banished.

(*R.P.C.*; Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 284; Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Kirk*, i., 246; *Scots College Diary*, 47.)

CHILDREN OF PAPISTS. October 1663.

. . . It is ordained by the Bishope, with consent of the synode, that in respect some gentlemen and persones of qualitie have sent ther childrene beyound seais to be educated in popishe universities, . . . that a letter be directed to his Grace the Lord Bishope of Sanct Andrewis, to the end his grace wold be pleased to interpose himselffe with his majestie, that ane effectuall restraint may be put on this spreading leprosie of poperie, and that a solide way may be taken for training up the foirsaid childrene in the Protestant religioun, especiallie the young noble Lord the Marques of Huntlie, and that the children already sent abroad be speedilie reduced.

(*Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen*, 270.)

MARQUIS OF HUNTLY. 3rd October 1665.

The Council ordered the Lord Marquis of Huntly to be educated in the family of Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews: that he enter himself there against the 27th of October current, and that none Popishly inclined attend or serve him (Wodrow, i., 432-433). Burnet (*History of his own Times*, i., 351-352) says that Sharp neglected his charge until 1667, either at the instance of the Earl of Rothes' mistress, who was a papist and nearly related to Huntly, or at Rothes' desire. When Sharp in 1667 called for the Marquis to enter himself under his charge, Huntly was then fifteen years old and "well hardened in his prejudices." After a trial of some months the Archbishop, seeing his labour in vain, sent the Marquis back to his mother.[1] (Burnet, *History*, 1724, fol. 239-240.)

[1] The young Marquis was raised to be Duke by James II., and distinguished himself by his fidelity to that monarch at the Revolution, when he held Edinburgh Castle against the new government, continued a firm Catholic to the day of his death in 1716.

PAPISTS EXCOMMUNICATED. 6th October 1668.

. . . The Bishop of Aberdeen, in face of the synod, did exhibit severall processes of excommunicatione against papists . . . in the Presbitrie of Aberdene, the process of John Farquhar, Katherine Blackhall, Marjorie Middletone, Christiane Stewin, Margaret Pattone, apostates to poperie . . . Johne Gordon of Brako . . . Margaret Auchincleck, spous to the said John Gordoune, and Margaret Seatoune, spous to Alexander Pringle, William Grant of Conglass, apostates to poperie. . . . Within the Presbitrie of Turreff, the process of Margaret Crichtoune, spous to James Gordon of Monellie, Johne Gordone, servant to the said James Ros, Adam Robertsone, lait servant to the gardiner of Frendraucht, apostates to Poprie. Within the Presbitrie of Ellone, the processes of Colonell John Strachane of Monlettie, James Strachane sone to the said John Strachane, and Marie Gordone, Ladie Shiris, apostats to poprie.

(*Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen*, 286.)

MARY GORDON OF ABERGELDIE. 1668.

Mary Gordon of Abergeldie was excommunicated by the Ellon Presbytery. She married a Gray of Schivas. The Grays of Schivas were still Roman Catholics in 1732.

(Bulloch, *House of Gordon*, i., 89.)

ALEXANDER GORDON OF AUCHINTOUL, LORD AUCHINTOUL. April 1669.

At a meeting of the Synod of Moray in April 1669, the Presbytery of Strathbogie gave in a report regarding the papists within their bounds, among whom was Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul; and the Synod ordered the Presbytery to begin a Process against him. In April 1670, the Presbytery reported that Auchintoul was under process.

(*Synod of Moray MS. Records;* Bulloch, *House of Gordon*, i., 134.)

LADY TRAQUAIR AND LORD SEMPLE. 1670.

"We soon after hear of the Countess of Traquair being subjected to a horning for disobeying the Council's order, while Lord Semple was put in ward in Edinburgh Castle for sending his son to Doway." (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 336.)

FATHER PATRICK PRIMROSE, O.P. 1670.

Mr Patrick Primrose, O.S.D., seized for officiating as Priest at Kinnairdie, died in prison next year. (Bishop Geddes, *MS. Memoirs.*)

FRANCIS IRVING. 16th August 1670.

Francis Irving, brother of the Laird of Drum, was by the Privy Council condemned to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 338.)

EXCOMMUNICATIONS. 26th April 1671.

On the 26th of April sentence of excommunication against John Gordon of Bracko in the parochin of Logie, Durno, and William Grant in Conglass, in the parochin of Innerurie, for their defection to poprie.

PERSECUTION IN THE NORTH. 3rd August 1671.

Severe measures were taken against several Catholic families in the North of Scotland, including the Gordons of Carmellie and Littlemill, and the Grants of Ballindalloch, all of whom were charged with harbouring priests named Leith, Ross, Forsyth, Burnet, and attending at Mass. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 336.)

Mr Alexander Burnet detained prisoner in England.

(Bishop Geddes's *MS. Memoirs*, 130.)

CHILDREN OF PAPISTS. 1st February 1672.

Understanding that the Countess of Traquair, being popishly affected, doth keep in family with her son, the Earl of Traquair, and endeavours to educate him in the popish profession, and for that effect doth keep Irving, a priest, to instruct him therein. Messengers-at-arms ordered by the Council to apprehend her ladyship. The Council ordered her to deliver her son to Mr Burnet, Professor of Divinity, to be educated in Glasgow . . . at the sight and by the advice of the Archbishop of Glasgow. Wauchope, younger of Niddry, and Lord Semple were on the same day commanded to produce their children. We find Lord Semple a little later imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and only liberated on giving bail and engaging to send his third son to be educated in school at Glasgow.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 336.)

FATHER JOHN OGILVIE, S.J. 1673.

Father John Ogilvie, S.J., who had been long in prison in London, under Cromwell, and had afterwards been reduced almost to starvation in Ireland, where he was compelled to lurk in the mountains and caverns; died in 1673 at the seat of the noble family of Winton, near Edinburgh. (Oliver, *Collectanea, S.J.*, 20.)

ROBERT DAVIDSON. 1677.

Robert Davidson twice imprisoned and twice banished.

(New Spalding Club, *Records of Scots Colleges*, 118; J. F. S. Gordon and J. A. Stothert, *Scotichronicon*, 540.)

FR. ALEXANDER LUMSDEN, O.P. 1678.

Father Alexander Lumsden, a Dominican, was tried in London and condemned to die as a Priest in the time of Oates's Plot.

(*Cf.* Dodd's *History*, iii., 319; New Spalding Club, *Records of Scots Colleges*.)

FATHER THOMAS PATERSON, S.J. 1678.

Father Thomas Paterson, S.J., was arrested in the time of Oates's Plot, imprisoned and banished after a nine months' confinement. (*Scotichronicon*, 535, 536.)

PROSELYTISM. 1678.

Lord Mordington (Douglas), Semple, and others obliged, under pain of a heavy fine, to recall their sons from Douay College.

(Sir G. Mackenzie's *Works*, i., 363; ii., 66; Wodrow, ii., 419.)

LORD OLIPHANT MARRIED. 22nd March 1684.

Lord Oliphant, who was excommunicated for his falling away to Popery, was married, 22nd March 1684, to Elizabeth Crichton, daughter to the Laird of Frendraught; and, at the time, he appears to have been residing at Kinnairdie, with the Lady Frendraught. This "Lady Kinnairdie," Dame Elizabeth Gordon, in 1652 relapsed to poperie—was obstinate.

(Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, *The Book of the Chronicles of Keith*, 105; *Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*.)

ALEXANDER CHRISTIE AND OTHERS. 1685.

Alexander Christie, George Innes, John and Walter Innes, priests, were imprisoned and banished. (*Scotichronicon*, 535, 536.)

SIR JOHN SETON SUMMONED. 20th October 1685.

The gardener of Sir John Seton of Garmilton having become a Catholic, was summoned before the Synod of Edinburgh.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 482.)

Mr Walter Innes and Mr Crichton Taken. 1688.

Mr Walter Innes was sent prisoner to Blackness Castle.

Mr Crichton was taken to Strathbogie and sent to Dunottar Castle, and from thence to Aberdeen. (Thompson's *Memoirs*, 148 *sup.*)

Dr John Jameson. 1688.

Dr John Jameson was imprisoned.

(*Records of Scots Colleges*, 119.)

Father James Fife, S.J. 1688.

Father James Fife, S.J., was arrested and sent into exile about 1688. (Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society.*)

Bishop Nicolson.

Bishop Nicolson was apprehended, and after being in prison for some months was banished to the Continent.

(Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, iii., 456 ; Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, iv., 147.)

Father Robert Munro. 1688-1704.

Father Robert Munro was seized in Knoidart, tried at Edinburgh, banished from the kingdom, and threatened with the penalty of death if he ventured to return. After reaching the Continent he was seized again, and imprisoned at Ghent as a conspirator against the Prince of Orange. The intervention of some friends procured his liberation. Attempting to re-enter the kingdom he was captured once more, robbed of everything, thrown into prison in London, where he was detained a year, and finally banished. Nothing daunted, he got on board the first vessel leaving Dunkirk, and this time landing safely on the Scottish coast, he found his way to his old friends among the glens, to whose service he consecrated himself with more fervour than ever (1698). In 1704, while lying prostrate with fever in a miserable hut in Glengarry, he was discovered by some soldiers, who carried him off to the Castle, where he was thrown into the dungeon, and where, after receiving the vilest treatment, he was allowed to perish.

(*Cf.* Rev. C. Macdonald, *Moidart*, 129.)

Father James Innes, S.J. 1688.

Father James Innes of Drumgask, S.J., was apprehended in 1688 by a noisy and furious mob, and would have been shot, if it had not been that a nobleman coming up to the spot, though a rigid Calvinist,

rescued Father James from the fury of the crowd, declaring that no man should be put to death in this manner, but should be brought to trial before a regular court of justice. Accordingly, he was put into prison, where several other priests, both Fathers of our Society and seculars, were detained in captivity. The Calvinists thinking themselves cheated of their prey, made several attempts to break into the prison and murder the inmates. They set fire to some houses, and spread the report that this had been done by Catholics in order to effect the liberation of the prisoners. On this account he was transferred to the prison of Edinburgh, and thence to Blackness, a very unhealthy situation, where he was detained two years. He was at length released and went to Douay.

(Letter of Father Francis Strachan, *Van Hulthem MSS.*, 562, Royal Library, Brussels.)

SUFFERINGS OF CATHOLICS. 1688.

Mr James Nicol, priest, imprisoned for several months, then banished. In 1694, at King James's desire, he sailed to comfort those Royalists on the Bass Rock, who till then, notwithstanding the Prince of Orange's exertions, defended that Rock for His Majesty. The ship was taken, and he was thrown into prison at London.

Mr Walter Innes, priest, imprisoned in Blackness Castle.

Mr Crichton, priest, taken at Strathbogie, imprisoned in Dunnottar Castle.

Father Fairfull, S.J., son of Andrew Fairfull, Protestant Archbishop of Glasgow, was apprehended near Inverness.

Father Bruce, a Benedictine, was taken near Methie, and was brought to Dundee, where he was kept in prison three months.

Lady Lucy Hamilton, Lady Mary Hay, and the Countess of Errol had their houses rifled, and their furniture burned.

(Abbé Macpherson's *MS. Catalogues;* Thompson's *Account of Religion,* Blairs College MSS., and 148-150 *sup.*)

FATHER JOHN SETON, S.J., IN BLACKNESS CASTLE. 1688.

Father John Seton, S.J., imprisoned in Blackness Castle, and was not released until nearly five years later. The effect of his long confinement was such that he died in 1694, a few months after his discharge. (Oliver, 23.)

FATHER STEPHEN MAXWELL, S.J. 1688.

Father Stephen Maxwell, S.J., was confined for several years in Blackness Castle. (Oliver, 17.)

EARL OF PERTH. 1688.

The Earl of Perth and his wife were carried to Stirling Castle, where the earl was closely confined for more than three years. He was released on giving a bond of five thousand pounds to quit Scotland for ever.

JOHN ADAMSON, PRIEST. 1689.

Mr John Adamson, priest, imprisoned in Burntisland Tolbooth, and subsequently banished for the sole crime of Papistry.

(Thompson's *Account, etc.*)

ALEXANDER FRASER, OF KINNARIES. 1689.

Alexander Fraser, of Kinnaries, committed to Inverness Castle for a like offence. (*Ibid.*)

ALEXANDER LESLIE. 1689, etc.

Mr Alexander Leslie imprisoned 1689, and liberated April 1691; Robert Davidson, priest; Mr Jameson, Mr Crichton, Mr Walter Innes, still remaining prisoners. (Bishop Geddes, *MS. Memoirs.*)

MASSACRE OF GLENCOE. 12th February 1692.

On 12th February 1692 came the order for the massacre of the Popish clan of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

PRIESTS BANISHED. 1693.

Mr George Gordon, priest, was banished to France, where he died 29th May 1695.

Mr Robert Davidson and Mr Alexander Chrichton, priests, were banished to France. (Bishop Geddes's *MS. Memoirs.*)

FATHER JOHN SETON, S.J. April 1693.

The Privy Council Records of 1693 relate that in April of that year, Father John Seton, being then seventy years of age, and broken down by the sufferings of his long confinement, petitioned the Council that they would not permit him, an old, sickly, dying man to languish in prison, for the few days he can, by the course of nature and disease, continue in this life, but allow him to retire, and close his eyes in peace in the house of some friend. In the spring of 1693, the priests still held in confinement were offered their liberty on condition of leaving the country, a condition, however, which they refused to accept. They were subsequently discharged by proclamation, and

in the course of the following year (1694) Father John Seton died in Edinburgh. (Oliver's *Collections; Van Hulthem MSS.*, Royal Library, Brussels.)

ROBERT MUNRO BANISHED. 1694.

Mr Robert Munro, priest, was imprisoned in Edinburgh and banished to Flanders.

FATHER FORBES OF CORSINDAY, S.J. 1694.

Father James Forbes of Corsinday, S.J., was taken by an English man-of-war, in company of Father Marvell and Mr Charles Gordon, and conveyed to England, where they were committed to prison.

(Oliver, *op. cit.*, 6.)

FATHER FAIRFULL, S.J. 17th February 1695.

Father Fairfull committed to prison for saying Mass, and banished on giving a bond of £300 not to return to Scotland.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, iii., 108).

FATHER ROBERT FORDE. 12th July 1695.

Father Robert Forde was imprisoned. In a letter dated Douay, 12th July 1695, he states that three of his brethren (unnamed) had recently died in Scotland; one soon after his release from gaol, two others in consequence of being exposed to the inclemency of the air, or the close confinement in their hiding holes; and eight had been taken from prison to be sent to banishment.

(Oliver, *op. cit.*, 7.)

BISHOP NICOLSON IMPRISONED. November 1696.

In November, Bishop Nicolson came to England, but was arrested and kept in confinement till May 1697.

CATHOLICS AND JACOBITES BANISHED. 1697.

All Catholics and Jacobites were ordered by Proclamation, 1697, to leave the kingdom within seven days from the date of the proclamation, even women and children. In consequence of this barbarous proclamation many thousands were obliged to leave Scotland. (Thompson's *Account, MS.*)

PENAL LAWS CONFIRMED. 4th March 1697.

On the 4th of March was published a Proclamation anent Seminary Priests, Jesuits, and trafficking Papists, by which all former penal laws against Catholics were confirmed.

Mr Munro's Adventures. June 1697.

Mr Munro started for Scotland with money for the mission. But he was taken at sea and robbed and carried a prisoner to London and put into a messenger's hands where he lay a long time, and then got the liberty of the city on bail, and was finally banished and sent over to the Continent. He landed at Dunkirk and took the first opportunity of a ship sailing for Scotland to return to his station. (Thompson's *Account, etc.*, 147 *MS.*)

Duke of Gordon Imprisoned. April 1699.

On Low Sunday about forty Catholics assembled to hear Mass in the Duke of Gordon's lodgings. They were apprehended and sent to prison; the Duke himself was imprisoned, but he was liberated after a fortnight's imprisonment.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, iii., 204; Thompson's *Memoirs*, 179 *sup.*)

David Edie Banished. November 1699.

In November 1699, David Edie, ex-baillie of Aberdeen, after some months' imprisonment, was banished from the kingdom.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, iii., 214.)

Father Innes, S.J. June 1700.

Father Innes, S.J., was taken in Galloway and imprisoned at Dumfries and banished. (Oliver.)

Mr Anthony Morgan Banished. June 1700.

In June, Mr Anthony Morgan was cast into prison and banished.

(Thompson's *Account*, 185 *sup.*)

Penal Enactments. May 1700.

A new Act of Parliament was passed, assigning a reward of five hundred merks for the detection of every priest or Jesuit, and ordering the instant banishment of all such persons, on pain of death if they returned to Scotland. Catholics were, by the same statute, declared incapable of inheriting property, or of educating their children. "If the popish heir do not renounce popery within ten years from the opening of the Succession, he and his heirs shall be for ever excluded, 1700." (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, iii., 628.)

The Leslies of Conrak. January 1702.

About January 1702, a Squadron of Cavalry was ordered by the Privy Council to apprehend Alexander Leslie of Conrak and

his brother Father John Leslie. Father John was not to be found; his brother was led away prisoner.

(Letter of Father John Leslie of 23rd January 1702, *Stonyhurst MSS.*)

PRIEST HUNT AT TERREGLES. 24th December 1703.

On the 24th of December 1703, the ministers of Irongray and Torthoral with several others assembled a number of fanatics and attacked Terregles, violently entered the house and searched it under the pretence of searching for priests and Jesuits. They raised criminal proceedings against the Earl of Nithsdale "for the hearing of Mass and concealing thereof," etc. . . .

SUFFERINGS OF MR ROBERT MUNRO, PRIEST. 1704.

Mr Robert Munro, priest, was once more apprehended. Unable to walk he was thrown across a horse like a sack of corn and so was dragged to prison; in the depth of winter, and while suffering from fever, in a damp dungeon in Glengarry Castle, without even a handful of straw to lie upon, or so much as a glass of water, at the end of two days he expired on the 17th of January.

(Bishop Geddes's *MS. Memoirs;* Thompson's *Account,* 218 *sup.; Scotichronicon,* 630.)

FATHER JAMES INNES, S.J. 1704.

Father James Innes, S.J., priest at Kirkconnel, was apprehended for saying Mass, and banished from Scotland in 1704.

(*MS. Necrology of Gallo-Belgic Province, S.J.*)

FATHER WILLIAM DURHAN, S.J. 1709.

Father William Durhan, S.J., apprehended and banished about 1709.

MR JOHN WALLACE, PRIEST, IS OUTLAWED. 1709.

Mr John Wallace, priest, son of Patrick Wallace, Provost of Arbroath, was summoned to appear before the Justiciary Court at Perth, in the spring circuit, 1709, for apostatising to the Popish Religion, and trafficking and perverting others. But he did not appear, and was outlawed. (*Scotichronicon,* 6.)

SUFFERINGS OF FR. HUDSON, S.J. 1715.

Father Hudson, S.J., was apprehended in 1715 and was shut up underground in Edinburgh Castle, with his hands and feet made fast with iron chains. (*Van Hulthem MSS.*, Royal Library, Brussels.)

Bishop Wallace Arrested at the Duchess of Gordon's. 1722.

On a Sunday morning in spring, Bishop Wallace was arrested by the magistrate's order, in the Duchess of Gordon's lodging at Edinburgh, as he was hearing confessions, before saying Mass. The Duchess was still in bed; but the constables of the Town Guard, who were charged with the execution of the warrant, insisted on her rising and conducting them over the house. Eleven other Catholics were taken into custody. Some of them were dismissed; others were sent to prison; but suspecting the Bishop by his gravity and his general appearance to be a priest, they sent him to prison under a strong guard. Fortunately they had no suggestion of his being anything more, or it would have fared worse with him.

(Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, 336; *Scotichronicon*, 7.)

Reward for Seizing a Priest. 1722.

The Magistrates of Edinburgh were entitled to a reward of 500 marks Scot, for seizing a priest. (Arnot, *op. cit.*, 336.)

Fr. James Innes, S.J. 1723.

Father James Innes, S.J., was condemned to perpetual banishment.

(*Van Hulthem MSS.*, Royal Library, Brussels.)

Mr Shaw, Priest. 1726.

Mr Shaw, priest, was imprisoned at Inverness.

(Thompson's *Memoirs, MS.*, under date 1725.)

Mr A. Macdonald, Priest, is Banished. 1746.

Mr A. Macdonald, priest, after more than a year's imprisonment in Newgate and in a man-of-war, was banished for life.

(Bishop Smith's *Report.*)

Mr Alexander Forrester Banished. 1746.

Mr Alexander Forrester, a native of Ross, was imprisoned and banished. (Bellesheim, iv., 402.)

Mr Colin Campbell, Priest, dies at Culloden. 1746.

Mr Colin Campbell, priest, a brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, died of his wounds at Culloden.

(Bishop Geddes's *MS. Memoirs*; Bishop Smith, *Report* for 1747.)

Mr Leith, Prisoner in London. 1746.

Mr Gallus Leith was confined for six months in London.

Sufferings of Mr James Grant. 1746.

Mr James Grant, missionary in the Isle of Barra, was carried away prisoner to Mingarry Castle on the West Coast. He was then conveyed to Inverness and thrown into the common prison, where there were about forty prisoners in the same room with him. Here he was for several weeks chained by the leg to Mr MacMahon, an Irish officer. He was liberated in 1747.

(Bp. Geddes's *MS. Memoirs*; *cf.* Bellesheim, iv., 199.)

Father A. Gordon, S.J., Dies in Prison. May 1746.

Father A. Gordon, S.J., died in Inverness prison; he had laboured with great zeal and energy. (*Report* by Bishop Smith in *Archives of Propaganda* in Bellesheim, iv., 400.)

Fathers Farquharson, S.J. 1746.

Fathers John and Charles Farquharson, S.J., brothers, and natives of Braemar, after a lengthened imprisonment on board ship, were banished.

Father A. Cameron, S.J. 19th October 1746.

Father A. Cameron, S.J., died in captivity at Gravesend on the 19th of October. (Bishop Smith, *Report.*)

Father Robert Innes, S.J. May 1751.

Father Robert Innes, S.J., was apprehended, imprisoned and banished from Scotland in May 1751. (Oliver, *op. cit.*)

Father John Farquharson, S.J. 1753.

Father John Farquharson, S.J., was committed to prison, but on giving bail was set at liberty. (Bellesheim, iv., 406.)

Persecution in Banffshire. 1753.

Mr Alexander Macdonald, priest, was apprehended; "Very lately, in the Country of Banff, where there are a great many Catholics, the judge despatched a company of soldiers to arrest four priests, all of whom, however, by the help of God, happily escaped, although still in great danger. Meanwhile, he ordered certain houses in which religious meetings were held, to be closed and sealed up, a fine of four hundred *scudi* being fixed as a penalty for the celebration of the Mass there in future."

(*Report of Bishops Macdonald and Smith to Propaganda,* 1st November 1753, quoted by Bellesheim, iv., 405.)

Bishop Hugh Macdonald Imprisoned. 1755.

Bishop Hugh Macdonald was seized in Edinburgh and imprisoned on the ground of being a Catholic priest. His captor was rewarded by the Royal Treasury.

Illness of Mr Alexander Macdonald. 25th April 1755.

Mr Alexander Macdonald was on 25th April apprehended, he fell very ill, and now there is no hope of his recovery.

(Arnot, *Criminal Trials*, 336; *Report of Bishops Macdonald and Smith*, 20th November 1755, in *Archives of Propaganda*.)

Bishop Hugh Macdonald Banished. 1st March 1756.

Bishop Macdonald was tried on the 1st March, at Edinburgh, and in punishment for his refusal to purge himself of Popery, was sentenced to be banished from the kingdom, never to return under pain of death. (Bellesheim, iv., 194.)

Persecution in South Uist. 27th November 1771.

On 27th November Bishop Hay raised his voice on behalf of the cruelly persecuted inhabitants of South Uist, where the Laird of Boisdale endeavoured to force nearly two hundred families to abandon the Catholic faith. The Laird assembled the whole of his tenants, and ordered them to sign a declaration renouncing their religion, or to be deprived of their holdings. The poor people to a man refused to comply with the demand, declaring their readiness rather to beg from door to door. The Laird next offered to leave them unmolested, provided they would consent to their children being brought up in Protestantism. All efforts to pervert these faithful islanders proved fruitless: in order, however, to avert the evils that threatened them, the only available course was emigration. Bishop Hay's stirring appeal was heard, and from all quarters subscriptions poured in, thus enabling him to defray the cost of transporting the poor emigrants to America.

(*Memorial for the suffering Catholicks in a violent Persecution for Religion, at present carried on in one of the Western Islands of Scotland.* It is subscribed: "Geo. of Daulis, Coadj., Edinburgh," 27th November 1771.)

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